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# THE EAST & THE WEST

*A QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR THE  
STUDY OF MISSIONS*

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**VOLUME IV.**

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# The East and The West

JANUARY 1906

## IS INDIA THIRSTING FOR RELIGIOUS TRUTH?

I HAVE often heard eager missionaries say that the Indian people are thirsting for the true religion, and that if only they present the Christian Truth as it appeals to them, the intensely religious people of India will recognise the Truth and, like the Wise Men from the East of old, readily and gladly worship the Christ. It is supposed that to demonstrate the irrationality of idolatry and to replace it by Christian teaching is the easiest of tasks.

But the actual state of things in India, as far as I am able to understand it, is far from this. Religion is indeed considered very important, if not an all-important matter in life. It has been said that the Hindu, in his meat and drink, in his ablutions and toilet, in his business and pleasure, is controlled by religious customs, and this is not altogether untrue. The Mohammedan in India is also to a large extent similarly controlled, and nothing is more calculated to lead to wild riots and bitter feuds than any direct violation of the cherished religious beliefs of the sects. But this religious atmosphere is passive and conservative, rather than active and progressive. It has its strength in custom rather than in thought.

The masses are illiterate, and cannot be won by

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demonstrations, proofs and arguments. The faith of their fathers is enough for them. Neither reason nor intellect plays any large part in their life, whereas prejudice and custom are ever ranged against the entrance of even a ray of new light. The work of changing their old superstitions must seem at times almost hopeless and impossible.

The partially educated and highly educated middle classes are most open to the influence of Western thought and civilisation. But even they are so powerfully under the sway of custom that they are most happy to believe that India needs no enlightenment on truths of a spiritual order. "The sacred books of the East," they say "contain all that can possibly be discovered either by revelation or by human wisdom concerning the mysteries of the spiritual Universe. The present needs to be changed, the abuses of caste divisions and child marriages need to be rectified, women need to be educated, but that is no reason why Christianity, a foreign religion, expounded and upheld by foreign authority, should on this account be accepted and openly professed. Indeed, religion is a matter of the heart and of private judgment; it should not be allowed to interfere with public and social matters or disturb old traditions. If religion in India is to have universal sway, we must go back to the oldest authoritative books of India herself, and build up a propagandist faith on them by a system of interpretation. A foreign religion with hard dogmas, more or less repudiated in the West by some of its ablest thinkers, is not suited to remould the life of the Indian peoples. The beauty of Christ is one thing,—that we can all appreciate; the dogmas of the Church are another—those we reject. Christ is only a supreme example of a Yogi."

There remain the very wealthy classes. These people as a rule are intensely orthodox and opposed to change. Trade, business, outward display, official favour, their own pleasures—these are the things that make up their life. Confirmation of Hindu Orthodoxy by any Western philosopher or student—in this they delight. But they are scarcely prepared to receive the message, much less the moral discipleship of Christ.

I believe I am not wrong in describing this to be more

or less the general attitude of India with regard to the search for religious truth. There are of course noble and brilliant exceptions, but I am speaking of classes as a whole. Custom makes the people religious, and there is somewhere the deeply ingrained belief that truth in the spiritual region is their own ancient peculiar possession. The West, they assume, can give them nothing: they need simply to go back to non-idolatrous times. The Brahmo, Arya and other numerous Samajes are but organised movements to show that there is no sufficient need for Western Christianity to come in as a disruptive force. The desired reforms, they assert, can be accomplished without committing the social reorganisation to a Church which is Western.

Naturally therefore the question would suggest itself to one interested in India, "If the people are more or less persuaded for the present that Western Christianity may be disregarded, in what directions are thought, effort and life flowing?" It will be well to go a little more into detail as to the special conditions and interests of the different parts of the community.

It is well known that immediately before the establishment of the British rule the country was politically in a very disorganised condition. Every ambitious chief fought with every other, and the English and French, making use of the people of the land, entered into a struggle for supremacy resulting in the present happy rule of England. There was no native power sufficiently strong and wise to win and keep the allegiance of the people. But the British rulers have in a wonderful way, even through such a terrible crisis as the Mutiny, been able to use the children of the soil to maintain their supreme position. In spite of recurrent famines and even the plague, the masses are left alone and are on the whole content. They cause the least possible trouble to Government because they have little or no interests beyond their own village area. They vegetate and cannot or do not think, though they are quite ready to believe, if it suits them, such monstrous fables as that the plague is a device of the Government to keep the people under.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I was once asked by an old Jât, "You, sir, you understand English ways. Can you tell me why the Government has sent this plague upon us?"

The masses therefore, in their superstition, illiteracy and ignorance, are fast asleep. They have a sort of religious sentiment on the traditional side of religion, but very little, if any, political consciousness. They sleep, they vegetate, they have no initiative ; they are like plastic clay ready to be made use of to any extent, if due deference is given to their susceptibilities. They are born, marry, and die ; they perpetuate and hand down an old-world life, but they have no significant, determining life of their own. They are content if they have scope to vegetate, and the British Government gives them every opportunity to do so.

Not so the middle classes. These are the restless people in India. They are, according to the Englishman's view, "contaminated" by education. They are not sufficiently orthodox to suit the British preconception of an Oriental ; they are not sufficiently revolutionary to break the bands of orthodoxy which hinder progress. They halt between the two positions, and from an Anglo-Indian point of view are a very disagreeable set of people, obstructionists and discontented, not to be encouraged but suppressed. And yet, if there is any life anywhere in India to-day it is among these people. They are anything but plastic clay to be moulded. They exhibit a certain amount of sullen, self-determining power of action. Their political consciousness has been roused by the British administrators, by the large advantages given to the British as a race, not only in the Services under the Crown, but to the British manufacturer in England, who is able to crush the nascent industries of their country. They are the Home Rule party of India. It is true indeed that they enjoy in a hundred ways the benefits of settled rule, which only came with the British peaceful administration ; but they feel bitterly that the interests of the people of the country are being systematically subordinated to the interests of the ruling race. They would fain share equally in the burden of government, unify the interests of rulers and ruled, and have a voice in determining Government policy. They would like to be afforded facilities to fill highly responsible posts in every department of State, so that they may work for the good of their country, as they believe no foreigner can work.

This is the goal of their ambition, and the National Congress and the critical Press are but symbols of a deepening national movement. The recent victories of Japan over Russia have intensified this patriotic feeling in a remarkable degree, diminishing in proportion faith in the truly paternal interest of the British Government. It is now ordinarily argued that if Government really means well by the country it will encourage the formation of higher civil, judicial, educational, and military service for Indians themselves, in order that India may learn the powers of responsible self-government that Japan possesses. Those of us who have witnessed the extraordinary ebullition of feeling occasioned by the Japanese successes will not underrate the strength of this revival of Indian Nationalism. The result is that politics, and politics alone, is the predominant interest of this class at the present time.

The richer classes as a body are still in the enjoyment of their leisure and wealth, and have not yet been drawn into the political movement. But this situation shows already signs of breaking down. Their disregard of education, their want of training in modern business method, along with petty jealousies and rivalries in their own ranks, are constantly weakening their social status. Some of the more alert and intelligent from below are gaining wealth, while the older rich men are losing it on newly introduced Western luxuries. There is therefore much probability that as the wealth and position in society of the latter diminishes, they will become more discontented and will swell the ranks of those who are dissatisfied with British rule.

The country then, as a whole, still remains in a dreamy state of consciousness as to its highest interest: it is no longer fast asleep. It has distinct fears in various directions, and this in itself is a sign of awakening. On the political side it has fears on the one hand that the masses may not be able to retain an adequate share of the good things of this world on which to support existence; and on the other, that Government may check or crush the rising national aspirations of the educated and refuse their legitimate demands. The problem for the Government is, to treat with tact and wisdom these

awakening fears, and by timely and judicious measures prevent them from growing into panics or leading to despair. On the religious side, the growing influence of the progressive Christianity from the West is creating fears as to the structure of society, lest an area of freedom, domestic and social, should be invaded by the Church which no foreign political rule has ever touched. The baptism of a convert into the Church makes a cleavage in the traditional life of the family and the caste that is difficult for Englishmen to realise. The increasing number of such baptisms (and the last Census shows how rapidly the number is increasing) creates fears which lead to active and bitter hostility. The question before the Church, the life-bearer of Christ, is to find the men and means to establish, maintain and develop such modes of missionary work as may appeal to the highest instincts of the people, and may avoid as far as possible alienating their sympathy.

The task is by no means an easy one. It is superhuman, but one which Christians ought to accept and attempt. What is needed is to bring to India, as she awakes from her age-long sleep, the Vision of the Unseen, and the Vision of the Unseen is the Vision of Christ. Missionaries have thus far only roused the country from sleep and filled it with alarm. They have indeed solid achievements to boast of—witness the two million Indian Christians in India to-day—but these very achievements have called forth frantic opposition. My personal belief is that the work is less than half accomplished, and has to be carried on with redoubled vigour and purpose, and with far greater wisdom and patience and tact than before—for the end, as I have said, is nothing short of directing the half-awakened consciousness of India to the source of all power and strength—the Vision of the Unseen God embodied in Jesus Christ.

Should the question be asked, "How can such ideals of duty and devotion, aspirations for higher things, belief in truth and perception of truth, be stirred?" I cannot but feel that there is no surer way of turning the attention of the intelligent classes to deeper things than they yet know—to the beauty and fascination of Christian devotion, to Christ Himself, the source of that beauty and devotion

—than to take the exclusive monastic ideal of a brotherhood out of its comparative isolation, and make it blend with and overshadow the intellectual life that a College of young, ardent students now affords in India. We need a supply in each Province of able, zealous, and above all spiritual, men living the community life, full of desire to see the Christian cause triumph, so much so that their natural political, pro-English bias will have little or no place. For the spirit of politics is not wanted, but the perpetual fountain of life and thought and right action which can alone effectually spring from the Vision of Christ.

I cannot help expressing the conviction that it would be a serious disaster to India if the missionary bodies were to withdraw from the higher educational work of the country. The one chance that the intelligent men of India have of being seriously and deeply influenced by the Christian life will be denied them, if our best missionary colleges are withdrawn. People may read the Gospels, admire the Life of Christ, and so forth, but the influence of the daily translation of that life, in act and deed, before the eyes of non-Christians will be taken from them if missionary colleges cease. The younger generation of India can only understand the Life of Christ by seeing it lived in their very midst, and it is through the younger educated men of India that the masses in their turn will be most surely moved. But I must make one proviso, we do not need second-rate and feebly staffed institutions. We should have the best, framed on the model of the ancient English universities, or none at all.

Further, without this Christian education of the highest type, materialistic and secular influences will practically determine the future. The spiritual and devotional will tend to be excluded. In the wide social disturbance that is taking place there is little doubt that even the best spiritual pantheistic thought, because of its impersonal character, will afford little or no guidance. Again, a reconstruction of an eclectic creed, out of the old sacred books of the East, a creed strong enough to inspire and dominate the social life of the whole country, seems to me an impossible conception. No! The only moulding power I know is a *personal* power; and I believe that the

Christian Church is able to place the figure of Jesus of Nazareth, Who was crucified, dead and buried, and Who rose again the third day from the dead, in such a way before the Indian peoples, that they will not turn away from it, but, lost in wonder and adoration, will be lifted up and at last be strengthened in themselves for the huge task of setting their own house in order, and helping others in generations to come.

A motive power India needs—it is her supreme need. Earthly wisdom will afford her many, but there is no motive power that earth can give which can compare with the quickening vital energy that will come from the Vision of the Christ, Living from the dead, the personal Saviour of men, the King of the East and of the West, the very Image of the unseen God, to see Whom is to be in contact with the Unseen. The new life and movement that will come to India from that Vision, that contact with the Unseen, is the one only force that is needed to lead her to fulfil her destiny in the world, and it is still the function and the privilege of the Western Church to help her to go forward to that fulfilment.

May an end so desirable be steadily brought to its consummation !

S. K. RUDRA.

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NOTE.—Since the above was written a statement has appeared in the *Pioneer Mail* to the effect that a wealthy Mohammedan merchant has given a large sum for founding a Mohammedan college in South India on the lines of the great Aligarh college in North India. The same issue of the *Mail* informs us that several thousands have been raised by the Hindus for the proper equipment and endowment of the college at Meerut, in North India. Both these are facts significant of the activity of the non-Christian communities in India.

## MASS MOVEMENTS IN THE MISSION FIELD

IN connection with all branches of social inquiry there has been, in recent years, a very marked tendency to devote much more attention to the community than to the position or claims of the individual. This is the result of reaction from an individualism which regarded society as a mere collection of self-centred, self-controlled units, each striving to attain his own ends and secure his own advantages. Now there is a general recognition of the solidarity of the race. Society is seen to be not a mere fortuitous collection of units but an organism of complex structure, in which individuals are bound together by relations, as close and as varied as those which connect the various limbs and organs of the body in a living creature. These relations are not merely external and formal. The social organism, like its bodily counterpart, is animated by a common life, which pervades its constituent parts, and is a most important factor in the determination of their form and character. The relation of this common or social life to the lives of the individuals who form any particular community may be investigated in two directions. We may inquire into its origin, and show the influences that come from the ever widening circles of the family, the community, and the race, or, turning one's attention from the origin to the results, we may study the action of social forces upon the material, the intellectual, the moral, and the religious sides of man's nature. These two lines of inquiry are, however, so closely connected that it is hardly possible to keep them apart, and to avoid passing and repassing from one to the other in the course of one's investigations. Both lines of inquiry yield most valuable results to the historian and the social reformer, enabling the one to attain to a clearer understanding of the



events of the past, and placing the other in a much better position to grapple with the problems of the present.

As a study of Christian missions is at once historical and practical, those who pursue it cannot afford to overlook the problems which arise in connection with social life and social influences. Christianity, while it appeals primarily to individuals, seeking to reach and regenerate the race by making of each one of its members a new creature in Christ, so far from regarding men merely as individuals, recognises to the full their position as members of a body, and never fails to give due weight to the influence exerted by them upon the community and by the community on them. The parable of the leaven is a very striking proof of the importance which our Lord Himself attached to the great principle of solidarity, and the whole history of the Church teems with illustrations of the way in which the influence of social forces has affected, not merely the spread of Christianity, but the development of Christian thought and Christian life. A study of history shows that social forces act in very many ways, at times tending most decidedly in the direction of progress ; at times seeming—at least, so far as we can trace their results—to exert a decided influence in the opposite direction. Even the social forces which are working in the direction of Christian progress are by no means uniform either in method or results. Though formally alike they are materially so different that the movements which result from them must of necessity take very diverse forms. In some cases a general dissatisfaction with existing conditions and a tendency to revolt against them leads individuals, in ever-increasing numbers, to consider the claims of the Gospel and surrender themselves to its regenerating influences. In others a strong sense of social cohesion, while tending to prevent, or at least retard, individual action, favours the diffusion of new thoughts and ideas so that a community becomes so leavened with Christian truth that it is practically Christian long before its members venture to make a public profession of faith. At one time a great movement arises through the influence of some striking personality ; at another a community is aroused to new life by ideas and impulses transmitted unconsciously amongst its members. Where

the social bond is peculiarly strong, and people are accustomed to communal, as distinct from individual action, a gradual diffusion of Christian truth results as a rule in a general or mass movement towards open and formal profession of the Christian faith.

Not a few earnest Christian workers are inclined to look with suspicion on everything of the nature of a mass movement. Some, impressed by the supreme importance of personal convictions, would even refuse to admit the possibility of any good results following such movements. There is much in the history of Christendom which seems to justify these views. In the great movement of the fourth century, for example, which Dr. Arnold of Rugby characterises as one of the greatest *tour d'adresse* that Satan ever played, there was undoubtedly such an admixture of good and evil that it would be hard to say which predominated, were it not for the conviction that the whole course of events is under Divine control and subservient to the Divine purposes. There is a danger in considering such cases of attaching too much importance to the evil elements and overlooking the good. While it must be admitted that the sudden accession of a vast multitude of new adherents, who simply followed the example of their emperor with a view to material advantages, without experiencing any mental or spiritual change, did exercise in many respects a baneful influence upon the life of the Church, it is, I think, possible to show that the ultimate result was a decided improvement in the moral and spiritual condition of the Empire as a whole. What needs to be specially noted, however, is that the great movement under Constantine was not really a genuine mass movement, due to the action of popular forces, but a conventional change adopted on the initiative of the imperial court. It is not indeed till the northern peoples of Europe begin to come under the influence of the Gospel that we meet with genuinely popular movements towards Christianity. It was no mere servile submission to the authority of their chiefs that led the free men of the German tribes to unite in a formal acceptance of the Christian faith, but a recognition of the superiority of the new faith, and a conviction that in Christ they had found one who had a right to their

homage, a claim to their service. Cases there undoubtedly were, such as that of the South Saxons, where Christianity was forced upon a community, but these were altogether exceptional, and, even where the initiative came from a prince or chief, there can be little doubt that such a one was truly representative of the people whom he led, and acted not on a mere private, but on a very definitely public impulse.

In recent times the conversion of the Hova tribes of Madagascar is one of the most noteworthy examples of a mass movement towards Christianity. Although the movement is to be attributed very largely to political motives, there was behind the political motives, and closely associated with them, a genuine religious impulse which led multitudes to recognise the hand of God in the action of their rulers, and to accept, honestly and sincerely, Christianity as the law of their life. Even where there were few signs of what could be properly called conversion, there was evidence that the people had ceased to believe in their old gods, and were ready to accept without prejudice the teaching of Christ. Now that it is possible to estimate the results of the movement, there can be no question that, through their formal acceptance of Christianity, the Hovas came under influences which have had a most marked and beneficent effect upon their sentiments and lives. By Christian instruction and Christian discipline they have been weaned from their old heathen ideas and practices, and enabled to make a very decided progress intellectually, morally, and spiritually.

The influence of social forces upon mission work has been more marked in India than in any other country. This is not wonderful, since there is no country in the world where the individual counts for less and the community for more. Under the caste system, a ban is put upon originality, and men are compelled, so far as outward actions are concerned, to conform rigorously to the customs and practices of the section of the community to which they belong. Any attempt at self-assertion is met by social penalties so severe as to deter even the most courageous. Caste has been, and still is, an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of social progress. It has made the

people intensely conservative, and prevented them from attempting to alter the conditions of life, even when convinced that a change would be highly desirable. The repressive influence of the caste sentiment is, however, restricted in two ways. In the first place, so far as morality and religion are concerned, its requirements are by no means as rigorous as might be expected. While disregard of certain petty conventions would involve social disgrace, grave breaches of morality, such as murder, theft, and adultery, do not necessarily affect a man's social standing. So far as religion is concerned, there are certain outward observances to which all must conform ; but, apart from these, a great deal of freedom of opinion, and even freedom of action, is permitted. In an article in the "Brahmavadi," an Indian magazine, a Hindu scholar says : "A Hindu may be an atheist, a deist, a monotheist, or a polytheist, a believer in the Veda or shastras, or a sceptic as regards their authority, and his position as a Hindu cannot be questioned by anybody." This union of wide tolerance as regards all that lies without and rigid intolerance with regard to all that comes within the limits prescribed by social convention is one of the most marked features of Indian life. In the second place, it must be noted that caste sentiment, while it tends to foster a spirit of conservatism, does not by any means preclude the possibility of change. The rules and conventions of each caste, though in most cases based upon precedent and prescription, derive their sanction from the will of the community in which they prevail. If that community, as a whole, can be led to a change of sentiment, there is nothing but the natural inertia of its members, and the difficulty of giving voice to the general opinion, to prevent it from modifying, or even abandoning, some of its older rules, and adopting new laws and regulations. During the last few years, for example, through the influence of the Mahant of Benares, an enthusiastic temperance reformer, several communities in North India have been led to adopt total abstinence as a caste rule. Cases might be mentioned of a similar communal action in regard to religious observances.

This toleration does not of course extend to any course

of action which ignores or antagonises the caste system as a whole. To every system that would question its claims caste necessarily takes up a position of irreconcilable antagonism. It fought a death struggle with Buddhism, and in the end succeeded in completely crushing its rival; it prevented Mohammedanism, even when supported by the most powerful political influence, from making any great impression upon the mass of the population; it has proved, and still proves, the great barrier in the way of Christian missionary effort. Since individual initiative is banned, the community misses the stimulus and inspiration that would come from the example of its more enlightened members, and is kept down to the level of those who are most ignorant and indifferent. If any have the courage to act upon their convictions, they are, as a rule, by virtue of their action, cut off from the community to which they belong, and placed in a position of isolation which prevents them from bringing their influence to bear upon their friends and neighbours. It is considerations like this which give an appearance of plausibility to the opinions of those who express grave doubts as to the possibility of the evangelisation of the country as a whole. Such critics, however, overlook entirely the possibility of communal action, and fail to recognise the presence of the spiritual forces which are breaking down the prejudices of the people, and preparing them for the acceptance of a new and higher ideal of life. In India, where, as we have seen, social forces are so strong that isolated action on the part of the individual is almost impossible, there are the strongest possible reasons for believing that it is through the gradual leavening of the mass of the people with Christian truth that the country will be won for Christ. The conditions under which these social forces work, lead, I think, to the further conclusion that when a general movement arises, it will advance to a very great extent along the lines of the caste system. We do not know very much of the history of Mohammedan missionary work in India, but the fact that certain castes, such as the cotton beaters of South India, which are undoubtedly Hindu in origin, now profess Mohammedanism, proves that in some cases at least caste feeling took the side of the new faith.

In the history of Christian missions, where we have full and complete reports of progress of events, there is clear evidence that it is largely through the influence of social forces that Christianity has won its present position in India. Quite nine-tenths of the Indian Christian community have been gathered into the Church as a result of communal movements. Where there have been no movements of this kind the Church is small and insignificant in numbers, increasing so slowly that there seems little prospect of the evangelisation of the community as a whole. In the earlier days of missionary effort any other than individual action was of course out of the question. The masses were so blinded by prejudice and superstition that it was impossible to induce them to give a fair hearing to the truths of Christianity. It was only the exceptional few to whom the Gospel appealed, and of these few not many had the courage to respond to the appeal and make public profession of their faith. Men had literally to leave fathers and mothers and wives and children and home and friends if they wished to become Christians. This was true of all classes and castes, of pariah converts as well as of their Brahman brethren. As in most cases converts were not even able to remain in their own villages, missionaries were obliged to establish Christian settlements in some central places, where they could take their place in distinctly Christian communities. This arrangement, though unavoidable under the circumstances, was not in all respects satisfactory. It not only intensified the isolation of the Christian community, but by removing its members from their natural surroundings, and bringing them suddenly under new conditions of life, it exposed them to influences which too often exercised a most baneful influence upon their spiritual life.

Years of persistent evangelistic and educational work have done so much to break down prejudice that such settlements are no longer absolutely necessary, as converts can and do remain in their villages, maintaining ordinary business relations with their neighbours. In some places, indeed, an even more remarkable change has taken place. The people have learned to look on Christianity as an alternative religion, and to permit converts to it to retain their position in their homes and even in their castes.

This is the case in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. During the past twenty years I have had personal knowledge of some hundreds of conversions from the respectable middle classes, and in not one case has a convert been cut off from his family connections. In many places the people have come so largely under Christian influences that they have lost faith in the old beliefs and practices, and are prepared to admit without hesitation the moral superiority of Christianity. Large numbers are intellectually convinced, but in spite of the comparatively tolerant attitude of their neighbours, they shrink from acting upon their convictions. They are unwilling to take up a position in advance of the community, and wait for some general movement in which they might take part. On several occasions I have heard intelligent farmers and artisans declare that the only satisfactory plan would be to get a royal proclamation commanding the people to embrace Christianity. "In that case," they said, "we should all come forward with pleasure, and there would be no trouble whatever over the matter." What such men would like to see accomplished by a sudden *coup d'état* is being prepared for by the working of those unseen spiritual forces which mould the sentiments and determine the actions of the various communities which make up Indian society. Few who have looked below the surface doubt that before long there will be a great general movement in India, in which large bodies of people will come forward *en masse* to seek admission into the Church of Christ.

The belief that before long there will be a great mass movement towards Christianity on the part of the people of India is not based upon purely *a priori* considerations. As I have already pointed out, the Christian community in India is to a very great extent the result of such movements among the lower classes of society. At first amongst the pariahs, as amongst other classes, it was only individuals who came forward, as a result of personal conviction, or it might be of some lower motive, to profess their faith in Christ. At a comparatively early stage, however, the movement changed its character and took that form which, as we have seen, is peculiarly adapted to the

Indian temperament and to the conditions of Indian life. It became a movement of communities rather than of individuals. It is now almost exclusively of this nature. When in a town or village the members of a pariah community come under Christian influences, those who wish to become Christians do not come forward individually, or in little groups, to profess their faith and ask for baptism. Instead of doing so they set to work to persuade their friends and neighbours that the community, as a community, ought to adopt the new faith. The matter is discussed and debated among the elders and householders until a unanimous, or practically unanimous, decision is arrived at. Then, if the decision be favourable, the elders, or it may be the whole body of householders, come to the missionary to say that they wish, as a body, to embrace Christianity and to be formed into a Christian congregation under the care of a teacher or pastor. In many cases even the more thoughtful and earnest members of the community, who are the leaders of the movement, have a very inadequate conception of the nature of the step they take. They are, however, undoubtedly profoundly dissatisfied with their present condition and convinced that their only hope lies in turning from idols to serve the living and true God. As for the rest of the people, they simply follow their leaders, ready, though they do not know much about it, to receive Christian instruction and submit to Christian discipline.

It is not always easy to judge of the motives which lead these poor people to take this step. The opinion that the movements amongst them have their origin in merely material considerations is now generally recognised as erroneous. One no longer hears the old taunt about "rice Christians" from the lips of anyone who has even a superficial acquaintance with mission work. In former times when the Christian community consisted of a few individuals, who had been, on their conversion, driven from their homes, and compelled to take refuge with the missionaries, there may have been cases in which it might be thought a man changed his faith in order to gain a livelihood. Now that the work has advanced beyond this stage, and whole communities are being received into the



Church, there is no room whatever for such a supposition. Missionaries do not now give any financial aid to their converts. The rapid increase of the Christian community has made this impracticable, even if it were considered, as it is not, desirable. So far from holding out any inducements in the shape of financial aid, most missions now require converts, from the time of their joining the Church, to contribute something to mission funds. In the Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency, for example, we require members of a newly-formed congregation to bear the whole, or the greater part of the expense of erecting a school-house or chapel, and to make a small monthly contribution towards the support of their teacher. That it is not merely material considerations that lead these poor people to become Christians is proved very clearly by the fact that it is not in times of distress that they come forward in the greatest numbers. In the districts with which I am specially acquainted the very reverse is indeed the case. In famine times the movement towards Christianity generally comes to a stop. Even where the people had previously seemed most anxious to become adherents they appear for the time to lose all interest in religious matters. "We have no time to think of such things now," they explain; "if we can get food for the day, that is all we care for."

While directly material motives have very little place in the movements among the low and depressed classes, social considerations undoubtedly exercise a considerable influence upon their minds. The pariahs, and other low caste peoples, who form about one sixth of the population of India, have been for centuries despised and oppressed by their social superiors. They have not been allowed to draw water from the village tanks and wells, or to live in any of the more respectable streets. In some parts of the country they have been slaves, liable to be bought and sold with the land on which they live, and, even where not actually slaves, they have been kept in a position of serfdom and compelled to perform all the servile and degrading tasks connected with the economy of the village. As a rule they are miserably poor, heavily in debt, and dependent for a precarious livelihood upon day labour in the fields

or at the loom. Every attempt to improve their position by the acquisition of land or the practice of some handicraft is resented by their high caste neighbours and vigorously opposed. As a natural consequence these poor people are so ignorant and degraded that they acquiesce without question in their lot, and, apart from Christian influences, show few signs of a desire for better things. Under the influence of Christian teaching they have been stimulated to new thoughts and inspired with new hopes. They are beginning to resent the contempt and oppression of the higher castes, and are eager to attain to a position of independence in which they may be able to make a decent livelihood, without submitting to the present degrading conditions. They see that it is only through Christianity that they can hope to better their condition, and so they come to Christ the great Emancipator, believing that in His service they will find freedom and enlightenment, and deliverance from the intolerable evils of their present state. Such convictions, such impulses ought to call forth the heartiest sympathy in the minds of those who are striving to carry on the work of the Lord Jesus Christ and establish His kingdom upon earth. He comes "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound," and even where poor ignorant folk look more to outer circumstances than inner life, and approach Him as a friend and champion rather than as a saviour from sin, we ought to rejoice that they have grasped at least one very important side of His life and work. They come to Him—that is the great thing—and although their ideas may be very crude and imperfect, we need not hesitate about receiving them, for we may be assured that under His influence they will before long become conscious of their deeper needs.

While a place must be assigned to social considerations, it is, I am convinced, a mistake to regard these as the only, or indeed the chief, motives underlying the great communal movements among the low and depressed classes. The people of India are naturally religious, and even the most ignorant and degraded among them regard religion as a matter of the highest importance. The pariah people have lost faith in the old gods and the old idolatrous practices; they have come to the conclusion that there is but one true

God, and that it is only as Christians that they can serve Him and win His favour ; and so they come, offering to give up heathenism and embrace Christianity. This is, I believe, the predominant motive, to which social considerations are merely subsidiary. Anyone who is on intimate terms with these poor people can easily ascertain this for himself. Let him ask even the more ignorant and thoughtless members of a newly formed congregation what led them to take the step they did, and in most cases he will be answered, " We wanted to serve God," or " We feel we must have the true religion." These answers are, I believe, a sincere and genuine expression of the thoughts and desires that underlie this great mass movement. It is, though the people themselves do not always recognise it as such, a striving after God, based on the recognition of the fact that He can only be reached in and through our Lord Jesus Christ. When we grasp this fact we can no longer have any doubt as to the real origin of the movement. Since Paul tells us that " No man can say that Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Ghost," and our Lord himself says, " No man can come to Me except the Father which hath sent Me draw him," we cannot refuse to recognise even in the first faltering steps taken by these poor ignorant people the guidance of the Divine Spirit.

When a community comes over to Christianity *en masse*, its members are as a rule very ignorant of the truths of Christianity, and comparatively indifferent to the requirements of the Christian life. It is a mistake, however, to conclude from this that very little is involved in their change of religion. To give up their idols, to destroy their little temple, to abandon their old heathen ceremonies that were almost a second nature, and to begin to worship the One who is unseen, these mean a complete revolution in the communal life. We have no right to speak of those who have taken such a step as mere nominal Christians. Weak, ignorant, degraded though they are, they have taken their stand on Christ's side, and they are His. They join in Christian worship, they submit to Christian discipline, they consider themselves, and they are considered by their neighbours, followers of Christ. In some American missions it is, I believe, customary to administer baptism at

once to all who thus come forward to make profession of their faith, but all the older missions follow the practice of the early Church, in treating new adherents as catechumens, and keeping them for some time under probation, in order that they may receive instruction in the great essential truths of the Gospel before they are baptized. When a community embraces Christianity, it is formed into a congregation, and placed under the care of a resident teacher or catechist, who teaches the children, and gives to children and adults alike such simple religious instruction as they are fit to receive. Regular services are held, and the people soon learn to join in the singing of hymns, and the repetition of the Creed, and such simple prayers as the Lord's Prayer, and the General Confession of Sins. The instruction given with a view to preparation for baptism is substantially the same in all missions in which the catechumenate is recognised. Candidates are expected to have some knowledge of the central facts of the life of our Lord, and their relation to us and our salvation, and to be able to repeat from memory the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments. After baptism they are in most cases kept for a time under further probation, and given further instruction before they are received as communicants.

As the mass movements among the low class population of India have passed far beyond the initial stage there is not much difficulty in judging of their results. Twenty-five or thirty years ago there was no little controversy on this matter in missionary circles. Those who had no personal experience of the work not only cast doubts upon its stability, but were inclined to maintain that no real progress is possible where a large number of poor ignorant people come over in a body, without having undergone any spiritual change. The fact that in almost every community of this kind there still remained customs and practices which seemed wholly incompatible with a Christian profession appeared to justify the adoption of this opinion. Now that mass movements have extended to every part of the country, and are to be found in connection with almost every mission, doubt and suspicion have changed into the most hearty and thorough approval. All Indian

missionaries are now agreed in regarding these movements as the most potent influences at work in the evangelisation of the country. At the South Indian Missionary Conference held in Madras, in the beginning of 1900, the following resolution was passed: "That the Conference, being convinced that the very great movement toward Christianity of the Panchama and other depressed races has its origin in the gracious work of the Spirit of God, and is a part of the purpose of God for the people of this land, gives thanks to God Almighty for the great number of people who from these lowly communities have already entered the Christian Church, as also for the essential change, moral, spiritual, and social, that is being wrought in their lives by the Gospel of Christ."

The danger of trusting to *a priori* reasoning is well illustrated by a very interesting fact that has forced itself upon the attention of those who have had long experience of work among Indian congregations. If there is one thing that might be confidently expected it is that better results would be found in congregations whose members had embraced Christianity as individuals, than in those which originated in a communal movement. Experience has, however, proved that the very reverse is the case. There is greater stability and more rapid progress in congregations of the latter type. When we consider the immense influence of the communal sentiment on the thoughts and lives of the people it is easy to see why this is so. Where individuals cut themselves off from all their old associations and begin life under conditions altogether alien to their former experience they have to encounter temptations for which they are wholly unprepared, and in consequence too often become addicted to practices which tend to undermine the very foundations of Christian life. The difficulty is even greater in cases where converts remain in their old surroundings, associating on friendly terms with their non-Christian neighbours. Those who are strong in faith and zealous for their Master's cause can and do resist the enervating influences to which they are exposed, and by their resistance attain to a fulness of experience and strength of character which could not have been developed under what we should consider more favourable circumstances, but

those who are weak—and most of our Indian converts are weak—are very apt to yield to the influence of their surroundings, and, even where they do not actually relapse into heathenism, to sink through indifference to a very low level in their religious life. Where people come over to Christianity in a body they come under conditions much more favourable to the development of a healthy and vigorous life. Even when they come from the lowest and most degraded classes of society they rarely, if ever, relapse. Not only do the communities, as communities, remain Christian, but the communal sentiment prevents individuals belonging to them from returning to the old ways. As a good deal of courage is needed to induce a man to set himself in opposition to the rest of the community it is much easier to maintain a Christian profession than to abandon it. Social influences are favourable not only to stability but also to progress. Although that highest discipline of effort and endurance called forth by opposing circumstances is wanting, the average man undoubtedly gains much through the community being in favour of conformity to at least the outward requirements of the Christian life. The knowledge that any open breach of Christian law is likely to expose the offender not merely to the disapproval, but to the discipline, of the community has a most salutary effect. It tends, especially in the case of the young, to create a private conscience which reflects the general opinion and makes the individual feel that he must not fall below the standard by which his neighbours will judge him.

Failure to view things in a true perspective has led to a great deal of harsh criticism of the Indian Christian community. There are many great and glaring evils in the Indian churches, evils such as Paul noted in the churches of his day, but these are only what might be expected in the circumstances. It is vain to expect rapid progress in moral and spiritual things in a people who have been for centuries sunk in ignorance and superstition. The moral atmosphere that surrounds them is tainted, and its taint necessarily affects their lives. The desire for favour rather than justice, the disregard of truth, the party spirit which is ever ready to shield the worst offender if he is a friend, and to damn with false charges the most innocent if he is

an opponent, these meaner vices, which are so characteristic of Hindu society, still prevail to a sad extent in the Christian community. The lack of independence so marked in all the lower classes of Indian society is also too often painfully apparent in our congregations. Our people are apt to expect everything to be done for them, and to consider themselves ill-used if asked to undertake any difficult task, however great the advantage likely to accrue from it. In spite of these faults, however, there are very evident signs of genuine progress. Sins which were formerly almost universal have now become exceptional, and many evil practices which were once regarded as natural and unavoidable, have come to be regarded and treated as grave offences. Infant marriage, for example, which was once the rule, is now exceedingly rare ; cattle stealing, which formerly prevailed in most pariah communities, has almost disappeared ; concubinage is decreasing year by year. There is in every respect a much higher and purer moral tone than is to be found in non-Christian communities. Conscious union with Christ, which is the ideal of Christian experience, is not so common as one could wish. I am doubtful if we have a right to expect to find it common among people who are still in the very first stages of Christian experience. In infancy there is not much conscious fellowship between the child and its parents, although the young life is being formed and moulded by their influence quite as much at that as at any other stage. Most of the members of our Indian village churches are still in their infancy, knowing little of their Father and very ignorant of His will, but they are being led to a higher knowledge and a fuller realisation of the Divine presence. Some have felt the power of Christ in their lives, and experienced the blessedness that comes from living union with Him. They may not be able to express themselves clearly, but when one speaks to them of Christ, they show by look and tone that they have undergone the great change which comes through His presence in the soul. If ever I have had doubts as to the existence of genuine spiritual life in the congregations under my care my doubts have always vanished when I have joined with them in the fellowship of the Lord's Supper. No one who has seen their dull dark faces light up at the thought of the

wondrous love of our Lord, and their eyes moisten and their lips quiver as memory took them back to the scenes of His suffering and death, could doubt that they had really given their hearts to Christ and entered into living union with Him.

In connection with the movement among the pariah classes, caste feeling, once the great obstacle in the way of Christian progress, now acts in an entirely opposite direction. The non-Christian pariahs have been immensely impressed by the wonderful changes that have taken place in the communities which have embraced Christianity. They feel that they are at a disadvantage through being unable to intermarry or even to associate on terms of equality with the members of these communities, and the feeling is daily becoming stronger amongst them that unless they abandon heathenism and embrace Christianity they will sink into a position of hopeless inferiority, which will keep them apart from all the more prosperous sections of the community to which they belong. This feeling, conjoined with the distinctly religious impulses which are at work in their minds, is leading them to come forward in such rapidly increasing numbers that there is little doubt that the whole pariah population, which numbers some forty or fifty millions, might be gathered into the Church in a comparatively few years, if the various missionary bodies were prepared to put forth efforts proportionate to their opportunities. There are signs, too, in many parts of India that communal movements will not long be restricted to the lower classes. The farmers and artisans in the villages, who form the backbone of Indian society, are viewing the great movement among the pariahs with anything but indifference. They see how through their acceptance of Christianity people, whom they had been accustomed to regard as beneath their contempt, are making rapid progress, materially, intellectually, and morally, and they ask themselves if it would not be well for them too to cut themselves free from the bonds of the past, and become adherents of a faith that brings with it such blessings. There are places where the question of a change of religion is being freely discussed, not from a merely theoretical standpoint, but with a growing conviction that sooner



or later some definite action is inevitable. On several occasions I have had interviews with groups of villagers who came to consult me on the subject, who were evidently strongly in favour of communal acceptance of Christianity. Such men are still in a decided minority, but day by day their numbers are increasing, and their influence increases even more rapidly than their numbers. The formation of Christian congregations through the ingathering of individual converts belonging to the upper and middle classes is helping to break down the caste prejudice that still prevails, and to remove the social obstacles in the way of those who wish to embrace a pure creed, and follow a higher law of life. Before long, I am persuaded, the various influences at work will have produced such a change in the sentiments of the masses of the people, that there will be a great and general movement towards a formal acceptance of Christianity. When once this movement begins it will spread with such rapidity that the Indian Church, and the various missionary bodies with which it is connected, will have very great difficulty in keeping pace with it. The problem will be not how to win over the masses but how to deal with them when they come over, so that they may become not merely in name, but in reality, followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.

W. HOWARD CAMPBELL.

## THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONGRESS OF 1908.

I do not propose in this article to give information about the details of the above Congress, but rather to take for granted that what has been already published on the subject has been digested. Those who have not done this are requested to obtain from the S.P.C.K. (Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross) the pamphlet entitled "The Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908," price 4d. It will be sufficient here to summarise the principles of the Congress in a few lines. It differs from other congresses inasmuch as it is a congress preceded by four years of discussion throughout the Anglican Communion ; it is also in connection with the Lambeth Conference, preceding it by a few weeks. The Congress is open to all, clergy and laity alike, dreaming dreams but passing no resolutions, while the Conference of Bishops is private, and definitely formulates its ideas for the purposes of practical action. The pamphlet in question contains answers to searching questions put to every diocese of the Anglican Communion, and also the answers of some dioceses from every province throughout the world. Attention also has been focussed upon what seemed to be the twelve most important problems which have been suggested at present. But all the answers, with the comments upon them, have now been returned to every diocese in the Anglican Communion for further handling and for still deeper and wiser answers if possible. The second set of answers will be received in 1906, and these too will be tabulated and published. It is hoped also that monographs may be written upon the most pressing problems without delay, so that those who come to the Congress may be prepared as completely as possible to meet the best and wisest clergy and laity from all parts of the world, and to join in the last and most far-reaching visions, and also to unite in

the thank-offering at St. Paul's which it is proposed to make before the Lambeth Conference assembles.

I pass on now to muse upon the problems which in my opinion loom largest at present, not necessarily in the United Kingdom but as affecting the whole Anglican Communion.

1. *A Court of Appeal for the Anglican Communion for questions of ritual and doctrine.*—Within the Provinces of Canterbury and York there will be many who may view the proposal with mingled feelings, and of course the proposal is one of those upon the distant horizon. That is its charm, and also it is worth remembering that we do not travel in coaches to-day, but in trains which monthly increase their velocity: it is a parable. I believe there are manifest advantages in the proposal both for the mother Church and for the daughters. Such a Court would not possess official recognition in England any more than the representative Church Council is likely to win it, but there are deeper issues at stake. In both cases we should be preparing for corporate action in a manner which would claim the approval of all reasonable Churchmen, and as a preparation for sudden changes and chances in any part of the Anglican Communion. Obviously the position of delicacy will be for the Church in the Provinces of Canterbury and York, but the difficulty ought to be surmounted in the face of interests of world-wide importance. It is only necessary to consider the formation of a Court of Appeal for doctrine and ritual for all parts of the Anglican Communion, except for the Provinces of Canterbury and York, to feel how inadequate such a step would be, how repellent to many who owe all to the Mother Church, and how almost irreparable would be the loss to such a Court of the learning and wisdom of English theologians, and yet the daughter Churches might find it to be a necessity to form such a Court as a precaution against very real dangers. Of course no Court such as is indicated could be necessarily tied to the decisions of the Privy Council, either in the past or in the future, so far as the larger portion of the Anglican Communion is concerned, and by "larger" of course I mean in extent of territory, not of population. I am prepared to press this subject because such a Court

as I have indicated already would save us from apprehension in the future. These are days when we watch with satisfaction the growth of daughter Churches into a position of independence : we pray for the creation, as soon as it is possible, of indigenous Churches in Asiatic kingdoms, but we also realise how small are the numbers in some cases, and how many are the temptations to leave the old paths of Church order and of doctrine, in the face of masses of Christians not in communion with us, and not on ancient and continuous lines. Age and experience in such lands make us desire to walk more completely in the centre of the old path, not even upon the grass strip by the side of the road, in order to secure stability and to preserve the "deposit" committed to us in trust for all future ages, both of organic growth and of vital truth, but we are not all aged and, so far, experienced. If the proposed Court would bring relief to some in England itself, it would be a still greater boon to many a daughter Church, and probably hasten the creation of some indigenous Churches in Asia.

Surely it is a sign of the larger corporate life which looks upon the race as the unit and not the nation, and a realisation also of serious dangers ahead, that long ago we established the Lambeth Conference, and are now creating an English representative Church Council, and that voices are now calling for a General Court of Appeal for the Anglican Communion, whilst we put aside the obvious fact that none of these can have legislative recognition under the Crown. It may be illogical to adopt such a course, but it is born of far-seeing wisdom, and forced upon the attention of those to whom the Anglican Communion is becoming a greater fact than the Church of England and worthy of all our devotion.

2. *The organisation of the Anglican Communion on the basis of national Churches independent yet one.*—This is but an extension of what I have already indicated, but it is an immense problem. Guarded by the principle that national Churches are but the national expressions of the one Catholic Church, free locally but one in life, it would seem to be one of our special missions in the world to contend for such expressions : we have shed our blood in the cause,

and are busily employed in forming such local adaptations of the Catholic Church as are racy of the soil under the due and acknowledged limits. The day for a federation of Churches within our communion is, I think, passing away, because it is being merged in a still higher form of union, more difficult but nobler : I mean in an alliance of Churches, one in faith and in order, yet locally independent. It may come as a surprise to some to hear Mr. Stock, for example, at the Church Congress remind us that the Churches in Ireland, and in Scotland, and in the United States, are free and locally independent Churches, yet one Church. Nor is there a great difference in reality between such Churches and those in Canada, Australia and South Africa, and Japan. If they were not so largely dependent upon us in the United Kingdom for money they would hardly be distinguishable from the three first mentioned. Already in the Lambeth Conference England sees the American bishops sitting at Lambeth, legislating for the Anglican Communion as a whole, so far as the term legislation can be used for the acts of a gathering which has no legal recognition. Obviously there can be no body so keenly interested in this movement of the Church as the British Government, for it is a lesson to it of the way in which one of the greatest of imperial problems will be solved, and on ancient lines and precedents. For here is a body older than the State, and possibly preceding it in solving the problem of the closest alliance, coupled with the utmost local independence. I rejoice to note that the three archbishops in Australia, together with the Bishop of Perth, have been requested by the General Synod of that Church to study this very question : it augurs well for our dreams in the Congress of 1908.

But, again, the problem for the Church is of far greater complexity than it ever can be for the British Empire. Already the scope of that part of the Catholic Church which we call the Anglican Communion is far wider than the limits of the British Empire. To confine it to that Empire would be to curtail it of what may be its most glorious heritage in the distant future. Of course I dream, but it may be that the centre of strength some day may not be in England, but in Canada, or the United States,

or in China, Japan, or India. It is enough just to mention the thought. Yet to-day we have so to lay our foundations that they may bear any edifice safely till the day comes when Christendom may become re-united.

3. *The name for this Body in the distant future.*—Already some among the thoughtful are puzzled over the name of "the Anglican Communion." What, for example is the exact position of China or Japan within the Anglican Communion? Such questions interest immensely because they mystify; but there is no reason to press for any solution of this problem. The thing itself, the problem, its fascinating and humbling in its extent. We may well wait till we have far advanced in our work under our present name, leaving it to our grandchildren to flash out at the psychological moment the term which may define the groups of races brought into closest alliance within the ancient Church and upon the old paths, one in life yet affected and drawn together by the history and controversy and convulsions of the past, "the Church" (I feel inclined to call it) "of the Far West," with great daughters in the Far East.

4. *The due attitude of races towards each other.*—Colour is no longer the dividing line between races which may claim to be on an equal footing in respect of civilisation and character. This is a new fact for us in modern times, and we are deeply indebted to the Australian Church for the resolution passed by it at its General Synod and proposed by the Bishop of Carpentaria. We should give the words the fullest publicity. The Bishop of Carpentaria (Dr. Gilbert White) moved:

"That this synod, while recognising that it is lawful for a people to strive to prevent such an immigration of a foreign race, whether in peace or in war, as may threaten to upset the balance of their national life, desires to record its conviction that it is unreasonable to assume that the white man is, necessarily and inherently, superior to every race of another colour. That this synod also desires to affirm: (1) That coloured nations who are advanced in culture and civilisation are entitled to a measure of respect similar to that which is presumably enjoyed by a 'white' nation; (2) that with regard to the less advanced races, it is a Christian duty to afford them such protection and education as is due from the elder to the younger brethren in the great human family of God."

It is needless to say that these principles are not those of that weak emotionalism in regard to races which are Christian, which once hindered rather than helped the cause of true progress. To-day one race at least claims equality with us on the ground of character and civilisation, though it is of a different colour. It may be long before another crosses the line, but it cannot be our wish nor our aim that it should be so. No body except the Christian Church is so fitted to lead the way in this movement, because there is no other body on earth which has always had a place within it waiting for all races when they will occupy the niche prepared for them from the beginning.

5. *The due supply of clergy in every part of the Anglican Communion.*—The day, I believe, is passing when it can be expected or desired that Churches such as those of Canada, Australia and South Africa should be always staffed by English clergy.

I do not refer of course to more or less non-Christian countries the clergy and workers for which must be drawn from outside, and my opinion applies in varied degree to the Churches which I have mentioned. For some years to come South Africa must largely depend upon England, the others for lesser periods. The point I wish to make is that the local supply must in the end be best, and this is becoming increasingly the case as these lands differentiate themselves from England. Our race is more and more affected by them by climate and environment. It means that the Canadian, Australian and South African will become less, not more, like the Englishman at home. Consequently it will require an increasing effort for one born and trained in England to adapt himself to the new conditions in such lands, and every additional year of his life spent in the United Kingdom makes it harder for him. There are some men who in this respect never grow old, but the majority find adaptation difficult, and they are not happy for some years nor are their flocks entirely happy with them. The wise men in the great countries I refer to say more and more that they welcome with both hands the really efficient and able men from the United Kingdom, and can put up with the period of pupilage in their case, but it may be too heavy a price to pay for the lesser man. My own

experience is that a good many men who go out (good, earnest men) never really adapt themselves, and are never really happy, and always look back to England with fond regret. There is nothing at all strange in this nor blame-worthy. When a man goes to an entirely strange race of a different colour he does not expect to know anything, and he goes for life as a rule. But the English priest who passes on to one of the countries I have named often expects, though unconsciously, to have little to learn, but a great deal to give to people who ought to be very grateful to an Englishman for having come among them. I put it strongly, but I can imagine the smile of appreciation at my language upon the face of many a "colonial." The strong qualifications of my opinion are obvious, and never more so than in my own case, since I have been helped by men from home who did splendid work and were idolised by their flocks, and seemed to imbibe the new atmosphere with delight, and never galled their people with references to the superiority of England because they recognised from the first that they were not in England. South Africa of course has won from us a peculiarly able and devoted contingent, and there are Bush brotherhoods whose praise is in the Gospel.

I am aware that I am somewhat alone in my opinion that perhaps we ought to devote a great deal more money than we have done yet in strengthening Theological Colleges among our daughter Churches of English-speaking races, helping them to train their own men, almost insisting upon it, rather than supplying them with men trained in the United Kingdom. I am inclined to go further, and suggest that we might even send our good material in England to be trained, for example, for Australia in Australia and not here—to be trained, that is, in the environment in which they should spend their lives and not outside of it. I believe there is nothing these daughter Churches would value more than strong action in 1908 to put on a firm foundation well-appointed Theological Colleges in their own provinces. Certainly it would enormously strengthen those Churches, and I believe we should obtain by such means far more workers in our non-Christian fields, and men of an excellent type. So numerous are the big problems upon the horizon that we have much to do during



the next three years ; and it is delightful to note that Dr. Weitbrecht, in this number of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, advocates the creation in 1908 of two professorships of missionary study in England.

*The Congress itself.*—I trust that the united wisdom of the Anglican Communion may devise some special method of dealing with the hours of the short week which will be at our disposal for the Congress itself. At present it seems to me that after so much consultation throughout the world, opportunity should be afforded to those who may be called experts to meet in more or less select gatherings on those days. At the same time it is not meant to be a congress of experts alone, and no such congress could be a success unless the Church at large were admitted to its deliberations. Would it be possible to reserve the mornings and afternoons of each day for the select and final deliberations, and to keep the evenings for great popular gatherings at which the experts who can speak (that is an important point) should tell forth their dreams ? Neither at the smaller gatherings, of course, nor in the mass meetings would any resolutions be permitted. The Congress cannot legislate, nor must it force the hands of the bishops by unfair pressure. The distinction must be carefully preserved between ideals and legislation, although bishops, clergy and laity may be seers as well as legislators at the right time. Again, is it a vain hope that the problems to be finally faced in the Congress itself could be reduced to one, and one only, for each day ? It would be difficult, but I trust not impossible, especially if some elasticity of definition were permitted. It would be more profitable to fix attention upon a few questions rather than to be too discursive. My hope is that since to the Lambeth Conference is of necessity relegated all practical action, great boldness may be permitted at the Congress to those who see visions. It is a great opportunity for those younger Churchmen with whom the future of the Church rests ; and yet the visions of the young keep the old from growing older. It is the earnest prayer of many that in every diocese in the Anglican Communion a knot of men and women may soon be studying the problems of Church life so that their conclusions may come to us through their

local secretaries within the allotted time. One fact will arrest us all, namely, that all the great problems which are emerging into view are in the deepest sense missionary problems. They must of necessity be so, but they are often more than merely missionary in a technical sense. Surely no missionary will be misled by the depth of the questions to turn aside from them as no concern of his when they affect the life of his Church at the roots, so vital to the life of the Church everywhere that there may be no time to spend over the details of work in mission fields.

H. H. MONTGOMERY (Bishop).

## THE UNITED BOARDS OF MISSIONS OF THE PROVINCES OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.

THE full significance of the action taken by the Church of England, when in the most deliberate and formal manner she established a Board of Missions in each Province, can hardly be realised without considering the history of the movement which led up to this highly important result. It was no light matter that in her corporate capacity and through her full constitutional agency she resolved to call into existence a new representative body, which should in her name take charge of a special department of her work. After full deliberation in both Houses of Convocation in each Province, it was decided that a Board should be formed to consist of members of their own body together with a certain number of representative laymen, through which the Church as a body corporate should deal with certain matters relating to the Church's responsibilities with regard to the extension of Christ's Kingdom throughout the world. The Board so appointed in each Province was practically a committee of Convocation with a certain number of laymen.

In reviewing historically the steps by which the Church of England was led on to take such action, we must go back to the time when the great Evangelical revival of personal religion began to be supplemented by the conviction that the spiritual life of the individual is dependent on incorporation into a living, divinely constituted and organised society, that body which the Apostles' Creed teaches us to believe in as the Holy Catholic Church, of which we believe our Church of England to be a true branch. As a necessary consequence of this awakened conviction, it was realised that the responsibilities of the

Church rest upon the body as a whole, and that they cannot be adequately discharged by individuals or associations of individuals. The attention of English Churchmen was therefore at once directed towards the vital necessity of reviving the constitutional corporate life of our branch of the Catholic Church, the story of which revival will always form an interesting chapter in our Church of England history. For many years her corporate activity in her Convocations had been suppressed, and we know what strenuous and persistent efforts were required before the difficulties and prejudices which obstructed the way to their resuscitation were overcome. At the same time a new movement, with which the name of Mr. Henry Hoare must always be associated, was made in order to secure for the laity a recognised position in the Councils of the Church. Nothing can be more encouraging than to look back upon those days of struggling endeavour, and to see now, Convocation revived, though still needing reform, and a duly elected House of Laymen acting in each Province in a certain definite relation with the Houses of Convocation; while in every diocese we have regular diocesan Conferences composed of representatives of the clergy and laity, which have become the fountain from which the diocesan activities flow and are directed and controlled.

What has been stated so far, relates to the history of the movement as it affected the work to be done at home; but the same movement was exercising its influence with regard to the work abroad. New ideas had sprung up concerning the principles upon which missionary endeavour should be conducted. The revived consciousness of the corporate life of the Church had led naturally to the conclusion that the object of all such enterprises is not only the salvation of souls, but the extension of a Kingdom, the Kingdom of Christ, a visible and duly constituted body organised on apostolic lines, a body inheriting its sacraments, its orders, its discipline from primitive times, based on the foundations laid by the Divine Lord of the Kingdom.

As illustrating this revived conviction as it concerns the subject of missionary enterprise, it will suffice to call attention to the Bampton Lectures of 1843, which treat fully

of the principles involved. The Bampton Lectures referred to were delivered by the Rev. Anthony Grant, Fellow of New College and afterwards Archdeacon of Rochester, and the main point of his argument may be gathered from the following quotation, in which he sums up his remarks on "the extension of the Gospel" based on the teachings of Holy Scripture.

"Such then is the argument which Holy Scripture supplies, in proof, not only of the Church being the Institution of Christ, a visible body endowed with invisible privileges, but that to it as a body under apostolic rule is entrusted the commission to propagate the Gospel by means of its appointed ministers and heralds; and that it was by the extension of itself, of its own divinely constituted system, and by the dispensation of its ordinances, that the internal gift was conveyed, as through channels from a fountain-head, to the heathen."

The views expressed in these lectures were not the mere pronouncement of the opinions of an individual, but they voiced the growing sentiment which was laying hold of the minds of a large number of English Churchmen, and they provided a text-book on the subject which they treated.

It is interesting to know how highly these Bampton Lectures were valued by the authorities of the S.P.G. A correspondent who became in 1872 a secretary and representative abroad of the Society, has stated that on his appointment he was directed to study those lectures diligently. "Mr. Bullock," he says, "continually impressed upon me the importance of the principles contained in that book, and told me that he always urged the study of them on all the missionaries of the Society"; and he adds, that he has no doubt that these words spoken to him by Mr. Bullock embodied the mind of the Standing Committee of that date.

These ideas found practical expression in the establishing of the Colonial Bishops Fund. The increase of the Episcopate abroad had come to be regarded as absolutely essential, if converts to Christianity were to become organised communities on true Church lines and eventually healthy branches of the Church Catholic. Without entering into details concerning the effect on missionary methods which the increase of the Colonial Episcopate began to produce,

it will be enough to allude to the impulse given by the appointment of Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand. It may truly be said to have opened a new chapter in the history of the missions of the Church of England. His own strong and attractive personality called forth a new quality of interest at home in the Church abroad; his clear and original opinions on missionary methods, and his wisdom and power, displayed in the position he took up with regard to public questions affecting the relations between the Government, the colonists and the natives, raised the whole consciousness of the Church at home, with regard to such matters, to a higher level. He was in fact the embodiment of those new ideas concerning the planting of a branch of the Catholic Church in a foreign land which had been diligently working in the minds and hearts of Churchmen, and which had found expression in the Bampton Lectures referred to.

Again, turning to South Africa, the consecration of Bishop Gray in the year 1847 developed further innovations on the same lines, which have left a permanent effect on the methods of missionary undertakings. To begin with, the endowment of the see was provided by the munificence of one English Churchwoman; and then further, the funds needed to equip the Bishop and supply the maintenance of the staff which accompanied him, were contributed almost entirely by the free-will offerings of the general public, and largely by the personal efforts of the Bishop himself. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that, "the exhausted state of the funds of the S.P.G., together with the little prospect there is of obtaining assistance from the Government at the Cape amidst their present difficulties, make me most anxious for some general effort on behalf of our Colonial Missions"; and he supported a suggestion which had been made "that Pastoral Letters should be issued by all the archbishops and bishops, enjoining their clergy to bring the subject before their respective flocks as a subject of special prayer, even where it might not be expedient to ask alms." The Bishop had an influential committee to work for him, and he himself preached and addressed meetings in various parts of the country, with the result that he secured an income of £2,000.

a year for five years, and was able to engage the services of eight clergy, amongst whom was Mr. Merriman, who was to be his Archdeacon. In one of his last letters written before leaving England he wrote:—"One very happy result of our being thrown upon the Church and compelled to raise our own funds is, that we have in several places drawn together clergy who have not usually acted together." Bishop Gray's committee may be almost regarded as the parent of the many associations connected with particular dioceses abroad, which have sprung up until they have become a definite and apparently permanent part of our home machinery for the support of work in the mission field.

To show the position now occupied by the Special Funds raised by associations other than the S.P.G. and the C.M.S., it is stated in a tabulated return issued by the diocese of Winchester, that in that diocese alone, while £7,284 is the total sum raised in the year 1904-5 for the S.P.G., £9,426 was given to these other missions, the C.M.S. heading the list with the sum of £11,177. From another statement in the *Report* we learn that the number of "other missions" for which the total of £9,426 was collected is no less than 52. And when it is remembered that the Universities' Mission to Central Africa raises upwards of £30,000 annually, it seems plain that many of these associations have become permanent agencies for the support of foreign missions.

When the time came that the Church of England found herself in some measure reinstated in her position as a corporate body through the revival of her Convocations, it was natural and right that she should realise her responsibility in the matter of sustaining in her members a sense of their duty with regard to the extension of the Kingdom of Christ, and of dealing with the problems which were continually arising and demanding a solution.

Hitherto the duty of being actively interested in foreign missions had been left to the consciences of individual Churchmen; the clergy were left to bring the subject before their parishioners, according as they themselves were or were not particularly interested; societies did their best to obtain access to the ears and hearts of such congregations as they were permitted to address; and deputations attended

meetings, and missionaries related their experiences to audiences often utterly unprepared to benefit by what they heard, or to follow up, by means of any systematic parochial organisation, the impressions which for the moment had been made. At the same time, all the information concerning the progress made and the varying conditions under which the work was carried on, was derived from an accumulating number of totally independent reports, issued by each separate society or association ; with the result that either the supporters of each society confined themselves to the study of that society's particular report, or that the reader of the many reports found it impossible to harmonise them, or form any clear conceptions of the subject as a whole. Some agency was needed to act in the Church's name and with definite authority, with the object, first, of quickening an intelligent and general interest at home ; secondly, collecting and collating information from abroad ; and thirdly, dealing with the many problems which were arising in the mission field. To this end the Boards of Missions were called into existence.

From the above historical retrospect it will be manifest, that if the appointment of a Board of Missions for each Province was a new departure, it was the natural outcome of the renewed vigour of the Church, and of her sense of responsibility for the work of extending her borders in the Empire and in the non-Christian world with which she had been brought into contact.

The duties of the Boards as originally laid down in the Resolution, passed by the two Houses of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in July 1884, and by the two Houses of the Convocation of York in 1889, were :

1. To impress upon all members of the Church their responsibilities as to Foreign Missions, and to set forth the principles which ought to govern the missionary work of the Church.
2. To issue reports from time to time on the spiritual wants of heathen countries, and to direct attention to the openings providentially placed before the Church.
3. To give counsel when applied to by any colonial or missionary Church.
4. To act as adviser generally upon questions affecting missions, whether referred by any missionary society or otherwise.
5. To collect and tabulate, as far as may be found desirable



and practicable, the acts and canons passed in the various synods of the Church at home and abroad.

6. To undertake any other work in connection with missions which may from time to time be entrusted to the Board by the Archbishop or by the Convocation of the Province.

The Board in each Province was to consist of:

1. The members of the Upper House of Convocation (*ex officio*).
2. Bishops and Priests resident in the Province, equal in number to the members of the Upper House of Convocation, nominated by the Lower House of Convocation either from their own body or from without.
3. A body of Laymen equal in number to the *ex-officio* members of the Board, chosen in the first instance by the Archbishop, but afterwards elected by the Board.

N.B. Since the creation of a House of Laymen in each Province, the Lay Members of the Boards of Missions have been appointed by the Houses of Laymen.

The Boards of the two Provinces meet together half-yearly, and the general business of the United Boards is carried on by a joint committee which meets every month.

The United Boards have also an executive committee or council for service abroad, through which they endeavour to guide clergy to suitable spheres of work in the Colonial dioceses, and to help them, as far as may be, to be in touch with the home centre.

The attention of the United Boards was first directed towards obtaining as complete an account as possible of the actual state of missionary work throughout the world, and for this purpose seven joint sub-committees were formed:

1. For British North America—Chairman, the Bishop of Winchester.
2. For South America and the West Indies—Chairman, the Bishop of Llandaff.
3. For the Turkish Empire, Persia and the Eastern Churches—Chairman, the Bishop of Bath and Wells.
4. For India, Burma, Ceylon and the Strait Settlements—Chairman, the Bishop of Durham.
5. For China and Japan—Chairman, the Bishop of Salisbury.
6. For Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania—Chairman, the Bishop of Manchester.
7. For Africa—Chairman, the Bishop of Wakefield.

Inquiries were addressed through the Bishops of the different dioceses to the missionaries engaged in the work, and the replies were embodied in a series of reports which were published by the S.P.C.K., and contained a vast amount of valuable information. More recently, a sub-committee was appointed to collect information on the subject of "Native Church Organisation," which was also embodied in a Report which can be had at the S.P.C.K. dépôt.

But the most important and difficult question that had to be dealt with was, as to how the influence of the United Boards could be brought to bear upon the members of the Church at home, and how the information obtained from abroad could be circulated.

This problem has been solved in the most satisfactory way, and the result has shown that the Church at large has thoroughly appreciated the action which Convocation took in appointing a Board of Missions for each Province. As the facts concerning the position and objects of the Provincial Boards came to be increasingly understood, requests were constantly being made by the clergy for guidance as to the best way of stimulating diocesan and parochial interest in missionary work; and after a conference with representatives from every diocese in the two Provinces, the following scheme was drawn up, and accepted at the annual meeting of the United Boards, for the creation of a Board of Missions in each diocese, which should be in touch with the Central Provincial Boards, and on the other hand be the diocesan agency for acting upon the members of the Church in the diocese.

#### SCHEME FOR ESTABLISHING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED PROVINCIAL BOARDS OF MISSIONS AND DIOCESAN BOARDS.

*(As adopted at the Half-yearly Meeting of the Joint Provincial  
Boards held on January 26, 1904.)*

I. In order the better to promote the objects for which the Provincial Boards were originally formed, it is desirable that in each diocese there should be a Diocesan Board of Missions, consisting of clergy and laity, constituted in some such manner as shall make it to be representative of the diocese, to become a medium through which the United Provincial Boards may

exercise an influence on the Church at large, and assist the dioceses in meeting their responsibilities in regard to missionary efforts.

II. Each diocese should be free to constitute and appoint its own Diocesan Board in such a way as may seem to be most suitable under the direction of the Bishop, but it is desirable that it should be definitely connected with the Diocesan Conference, and annually present to the Conference a report, a copy of which should be forwarded to the Committee of the United Provincial Boards.

III. The functions of the Diocesan Boards should be (under the direction of the Bishop) to promote interest in the work of the Church abroad by such means as the following :

- (a) Impressing upon the diocese in every possible way the paramount claim which missionary work has upon the whole Church, upon every parish, and upon every individual Christian.
- (b) Setting before the diocese the bounden duty of regular intercession, both in public and private, for the missionary work of the Church.
- (c) Bringing into fellowship and mutual knowledge all existing missionary organisations of the Church in its own diocese ; giving to the missionary societies the moral support of the diocese, making it evident that the diocese as a whole cares for the work they are doing.
- (d) Developing the sense of missionary vocation, and assisting young men who desire to offer themselves for training with a view to ordination or to taking up work as laymen, in connection with Diocesan Missionary Studentship Associations, or otherwise.
- (e) Advising clergy and laity who desire to offer themselves for service abroad, and putting them into communication with the "Council for Service Abroad" or with the societies.
- (f) Promoting the work of commending emigrants to the care of some representative of the Church in the place where they are going to settle.
- (g) Impressing upon Christians, who, in whatever capacity, go to dwell abroad, their responsibilities as witnesses to Christ ; bearing in mind the great influence which the lives of Christians exercise in non-Christian lands.
- (h) Securing the services of a body of clergy and laity of the diocese able and willing to give addresses on the subject when called upon to do so.

IV. The Committee of the United Provincial Boards should be invited to assist the Diocesan Boards by communicating to them reports and other information bearing upon missionary matters, and by rendering advice and assistance in every possible way; for instance, communicating, through their "Council for Service Abroad," with men suitable for service in the Colonies and mission field.

The United Provincial Boards should present an annual joint report, including a digest of the diocesan reports, to the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and to the Houses of Laymen.

V. The constitution of the Provincial Boards should be so amended as to provide for the definite representation of each duly-constituted Diocesan Board on the Provincial Boards.

VI. It should be suggested to the Diocesan Boards that a portion of the collections made at diocesan festivals should be assigned to providing for the expenses of the United Provincial Boards.

The recommendation made in Paragraph V. of the scheme has been acted upon by the Convocations of the two Provinces, and the Provincial Boards have been greatly strengthened by the addition of two representatives from each duly constituted Diocesan Board. Many of the dioceses have already got their Board of Missions established, in many cases appointed by the Diocesan Conference, to which body they present an annual Report; a copy of which is forwarded to the Provincial Board; and the United Provincial Boards issue a Report, a copy of which is presented to Convocation.

The machinery is therefore now complete, and some of the Diocesan Boards have already sent in valuable reports. Each Diocesan Board works on its own lines, as seems most suitable; in some, archidiaconal, in others ruri-decanal associations have been formed, through which the parishes are reached, services of intercession are held, schemes of missionary study are conducted, and central meetings are organised. Another interesting task undertaken by the Diocesan Boards is that of securing the services of a body of clergy and laity of the diocese, able and willing to give addresses on missionary subjects. The old system of trusting to deputations from the societies for sermons and addresses had long been regarded as in many ways unsatisfactory; and of course the claims of the particular

society represented by the deputation were more or less exclusively advocated. It was felt that in these days there are in every diocese many who are fully qualified to speak on the general subject, some of whom have further gained a personal and definite acquaintance with mission work by a residence or tour in foreign lands. The experiment of enlisting such advocates of the cause as these, has proved most successful ; and in one diocese, that of Canterbury, the Diocesan Board has a staff enrolled of as many as 228 ready to come forward when called upon.

In the matter of developing the sense of missionary vocation and assisting young men who desire to offer themselves for training with a view to ordination, the Diocesan Board is, through the archidiaconal or ruri-decanal associations, in a natural position to render prompt and efficient assistance ; and, being in touch with the Council for Service Abroad of the Central Boards, it will be the means of enabling such men to find suitable spheres of labour. On the other hand, the Central Council for Service Abroad, being in communication with the Bishops abroad, is gradually accumulating information concerning their needs, and on other matters, which information can be communicated to the public through the Diocesan Boards. The Secretary to the Council for Service Abroad is at the present time making a tour through the Colonies, in order that he may gain a detailed acquaintance with the conditions of service in the Colonial dioceses and establish a regular system of communication with them. One more encouraging result has followed upon the formation of the Diocesan Boards of Missions. Special valedictory services are held in the locality where a clergyman departing for service abroad has served, or at some special centre where the service can be conducted by the archdeacon or rural dean, if not by the Bishop himself ; at the services of intercession, the names of those who have gone forth from the diocese are read out, and the Bishops very generally allow their names to remain on the diocesan roll as serving abroad.

A word must now be said with regard to the attitude of the Provincial and Diocesan Boards of Missions to the missionary societies Under existing circumstances little

good can come from a discussion as to the ideal system under which a branch of the Church should meet its responsibilities in regard to the administration and support of its missionary enterprises. At the date from which the foregoing historical survey commences, when Archdeacon Grant preached his Bampton Lectures and the Colonial Bishopricks Fund was founded, the subject was indeed worthy of consideration. There seemed to be, at that date, little hope that the missionary societies then existing could meet all the necessities of the case, and it was felt by many that the Church must herself take the matter in hand, and organise, administer and control the work abroad, through a Board of Missions. But at that time the Church, with the constitutional liberties of her Convocations suspended, was in no position to take any corporate action in this direction ; and in the meantime, while she was recovering her rights, the then existing societies so wonderfully multiplied their powers and resources, while new missionary associations were so rapidly springing into existence, that by the time the Church could act, it had become too late. If, however, there are any who still cling to what they hope to see realised as their ideal, it is, on the other hand, too soon to think of introducing anything of the kind. No one can say what the future of the society system may be, or what the Boards of Missions may in time be called upon to undertake ; but as long as the societies and missionary associations retain the confidence of the members of the Church, nothing can disturb the existing order of things, and no one would attempt to do so. Nevertheless, taking the most practical view of the situation, there is a great deal to be done which cannot be done by a society or by any combination of societies, and for which the aid of the Boards is urgently needed. It should be understood then that the operations of the Boards are carried on independently of any particular society or missionary association, but in general sympathy with them all. Every parish is left to associate itself with any or as many societies as it likes ; the action of the Diocesan Board of Missions merely serves to quicken and promote a general intelligent acquaintance with the whole subject of missions : it acts as a unifying agency for drawing together all who are

interested, and, as far as may be, helping to solve the problems which have to be met.

The new interest created in the study of missions has led to a request that the committee of the United Provincial Boards will draw up a scheme for missionary study which may be generally adopted—a by no means easy undertaking, but one concerning which at least some leading principles may be laid down—and the committee are dealing with the matter by first taking counsel with the Diocesan Boards and with others who have given attention to the subject. Akin to this is another most difficult task which the committee has been asked to undertake. At present an adequate acquaintance with the history, conditions, and progress of missionary enterprise throughout the world, can only be acquired by the study of the independent reports of a very large number of missionary societies and associations, and it is much to be desired that a comprehensive work or report, which would give the combined results, and so enable Churchmen to obtain a general knowledge of the Church's work as a whole, should be produced. The United Boards of Missions, occupying as they do a position outside all societies, are perhaps the only body that can hope some day to compile such a comprehensive work. Tentative efforts in this direction are already being made, and when the Boards have established closer relations with the authorities in Colonial and missionary dioceses, it may be hoped that something more definite may be accomplished.

The position which the Boards occupy is well illustrated by their connection with the scheme for holding what is known as a Pan-Anglican Congress in connection with the Lambeth Conference in 1908. No individual missionary society or combination of societies could well have launched this great scheme, but it goes forth as emanating from the United Boards of Missions of the two Provinces of the Church of England. The working out of the scheme has been committed by the United Boards to a special committee appointed for the purpose. But perhaps the most telling achievement of the United Boards, which they from their position as representing the whole body of the Church have been able to accomplish, is the bringing together the committees of all the societies to an annual reception at which

all missionaries and mission-workers who happen to be at home on leave from abroad, are presented to and welcomed by the Archbishops of the two Provinces. At the reception held in the month of June last, fifty-six societies were thus brought together. It is indeed always a remarkable gathering: European bishops and missionaries, native bishops and clergy, together with lay workers from all parts of the world, have a unique opportunity of meeting each other face to face, and they are made to feel that the Mother Church at home has a real care for them, and desires to show her appreciation of their labours in distant lands on her behalf.

To sum up then: the United Boards of Missions of the two Provinces have been formally appointed to be a permanent portion of the machinery of the Church of England, their special functions being: First, to act as the agent of the Church in the matter of cherishing in her members a lively and intelligent interest in that missionary work which, as the result of the nation's position in the world, has been providentially entrusted to her. Secondly, to be a unifying influence, drawing together all members of the Church in a common sympathy without interfering with separate associated interests; while all missionary societies and associations continue to be what may perhaps be called the executive agencies of the Church, not hindered, but rather supported and strengthened, by the sympathy, counsel, and co-operation of the Boards of Missions provincial and diocesan.

The Boards are as yet very far from having realised all that is contemplated, and it must take time before their ultimate relations with the Church at home and the Church abroad can be thoroughly established; but experience seems to have already justified the step taken in creating them; and the hope may be confidently indulged, that in God's providence they are destined to become a powerful aid to our branch of the Catholic Church in her endeavour to take her share in the working out of His purposes in the world.

EDWARD E. JOHNSON (Bishop).



## RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

DOES nobody now care for South Africa? Is everybody weary of the sound of the name? Are we all sick with a great disappointment? Do we despair of anything ever going right in the distressful country?

Not Ireland itself can more effectively defeat the finest Anglo-Saxon intentions. We did, at least, suppose that if once the dreadful war was over, there would be peaceful and abundant development of industry. And now we hear of nothing but Chinese troubles, and dark depression of trade, and deplorable poverty, and an impoverished Government, unable to find money for its high schemes, and of a dead-lock all round. What are we to do?

No wonder that many turn away sadly from a problem which seems fated to wreck and break all the efforts spent on its solution. Shall we ever see daylight? Shall we ever be out of the tangle? What on earth can we do more? This is the temper that we have to face to-day. And it is so hard-set that, as yet, not the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all his heroic efforts, has succeeded in beating it down. The big world sulks and lies low. The Church world is a little doubtful of what is going on. Everybody holds off, and waits, and feels the weight of excuses, and wonders who ought to come forward. And, at last, nothing happens.

Yet the occasion is most serious and urgent. The moment is upon us when the decision must be made. The opportunity can never recur. The lines on which public education in South Africa is to run are being laid down. Governments are coming to final determinations. Other religious bodies are taking measures to meet the emergency. Presbyterians are taking vigorous action. Roman Catholics are making even more heroic efforts than ever. In both cases, very large sums of money are being

gallantly risked. The Dutch Reformed Church is very strong educationally, and is showing itself very capable of playing its full part. Where is the Church? What is to be its contribution to the national task? How will it show itself to be an invaluable asset to the cause of public welfare?

For, indeed, the entire welfare of our Colonies out there is at stake in this matter of education. Only through a concerted and organic scheme of education can the two races, whose ideals and traditions so disastrously collide, arrive at common terms, at a mutual understanding, at a common ideal of citizenship, at a sense of united responsibility. Through education they will both be in possession of the like stock of intellectual material: they will have passed under a like mental and moral discipline. They will discuss things on the same assumptions: they each will know what the other means. Memories and associations of childhood will draw them together, They will build up a common life out of a common condition of growth, and will find themselves to be one people. And this, not with the fatal result of wiping out any natural characteristic, Dutch or English; but while leaving these free, both will find themselves engaged equally and richly in the common life of a South African citizen.

And, in the furtherance of this national work, it clearly appears, under the pressure of obvious experience, that there is a vital place among other educational agencies for such schools as the Church of South Africa can especially provide. We know this for certain. The facts prove it.

The State, for instance, in Cape Colony, through the means of its Educational Minister, is beating at our door, clamouring for our aid in training teachers, Dutch and English alike. He is so utterly satisfied with the products that are sent him, for use in elementary schools, from out of St. Peter's Training College at Grahamstown, that he asks for many more of the same type for secondary schools as well. He makes demands on Mother Cecile's resources which will need £20,000 to be spent at once on the necessary plant, etc., through which to satisfy this most flattering insatiability.

You can read his letter of appeal on this behalf. No

words can be stronger. He begs us to go forward on the ground that it is no tentative experiment, but a proved necessity. The thing that is peculiarly wanted on public grounds is being admirably done, and it only needs to be done on a yet larger scale.

So pronounces the Educational Minister, on behalf of the whole Colony—himself an excellent Scotch Presbyterian. Yet St. Peter's is a strong Church institution. No one could visit it and doubt what was the reality of its creed and worship. Only, while offering these without disguise to all who will use them, it allows all and any of other persuasions, who desire to take advantage of the training so thoroughly and generously given, full liberty of access to their own special pastor and religious ministrations.

So, again, it throws all its work open to public inspection, and brings it under the public standards, and keeps it closely in touch with all public needs. In this way it keeps the witness alive that, though as an institution it belongs to a special "Denomination," it holds all its gifts and powers at the disposal of the public service.

Here, most certainly, then, is a Church institution exactly fitted to fulfil the task now set us in South Africa. It is impossible to exaggerate the potentialities or its influence if year after year teachers poured out from its walls into elementary and secondary schools scattered widely over the whole face of this enormous land, carrying everywhere, whether they were English or Dutch, the stamp and type of a common training, to which they were one and all enthusiastically loyal; and bearing ever in their hearts the precious memory of the delightful home, which had been alive for them with the tender and persuasive touch of a faith that filled it as with the warm and gracious breath of some penetrative fragrance.

And, then, there is another blank space, which it is the Church's happy privilege to be able to fill in. Everybody out there is feeling about for the strange something which, at home, we quaintly know under the name of a "Public School." Of course, we mean by that a school that is not in the least public; on the contrary, it is limited to those who can pay for it, and it is in itself a highly privileged affair. But, nevertheless, it produces something which

nothing else can produce. And, for national purposes, the article has a peculiar value.

Not, indeed, that we are quite sure whether we are getting our full value from all the old-established places just now. Criticism is rife. We are clamouring for proofs of real efficiency. And certainly there is reason for some anxiety. But our anxiety, after all, springs out of our intense belief in the excellence of the article that we ought to look for. We have an ideal, and it is a high one ; and we are uncomfortable if there is any suspicion that the quality has suffered. So it is this real, ideal Public School boy which South Africa so earnestly desires to possess. And it is this which we are proposing to give her.

More especially is this the case in the matter of religion. Somehow, it has been felt that religion, in a strong and effective sense, is the last thing that a Public School boy gets definite hold of. He turns out so often to be seriously ignorant of what it is to which he religiously belongs, and why he belongs to it, and what it is which it holds to be necessary to salvation.

But, again, this charge, if it be justified, represents a complaint that Public Schools are not doing what they claim to do in the matter of religion. It does not follow that they could not do it, and do it well. They have the right premisses ; their theoretical position is assured. They stand on the ground of belonging to the Church of England, and they have the right to deliver its message, and to exhibit its worship. Let them do it, then, with a free and strong heart, so that the boys get a grip upon it !

That is what we all ask. And of late years there has been a good endeavour to pick up lost ground ; and there are young masters at our great Public Schools who are bent on fulfilling this special obligation with a richer success than heretofore, and on showing that our Creed can verify itself to the innermost heart of a boy. It is this fuller Gospel for school life which we intend, when we speak of the need for Public Schools in connection with the Church in South Africa. We mean the Gospel which Public Schools are intended to make good and real here in England, however often they may have failed.

And our point is that, if South Africa be urgently

desirous of having such schools in her own land, so that her lads need not be sent far away to England at great expense, we can find them for her in our Southern Colony. There are two or three such institutions in full existence—St. Andrew's, Grahamstown ; Rondebosch ; Michael House in Natal. These all stand just on the lines required. They offer the exact material, which might be taken up ; be disencumbered of debt ; be equipped and furnished and staffed ; be established on a certified level of complete efficiency. Here are the opportunities waiting to be developed. Here are the conditions under which the Church might show her capacity to discharge a national service to the State at large. Again, there are Diocesan High Schools for Girls, which it ought to be perfectly possible to raise up to the full standard of public adequacy, so as to enable them to fulfil a like function on behalf of the whole society.

Therefore, we now ask for the requisite means in order that the offer made by the Church to the State shall be of undoubted value, such as it would be folly to refuse. We have already seen, in the case of the training of teachers at Grahamstown, that the State can recognise, and recognise generously, the work of such a contribution to its social resources. Money there must be to make this work sure ; and a great deal of money ; for educational plant, and staff, and outfit, if they are to be level with its work nowadays, are bound to be very expensive.

So the Archbishop puts the figure at £150,000, and nobody thinks it too much. The Committee, who are to allot this money, pledge themselves to give to no school that will not conform to public inspection and requirements, and that cannot give evidence of its thorough educational and moral efficiency. They hope to send out a qualified expert to advise on the conditions of every Institution which they propose to help financially.

They will keep closely in touch with the Church on the spot. The schools are hers. It is to her succour that they come, recognising the severe strain laid on her resources by events for which the Empire as a whole is responsible. They cannot possibly bring her this succour if they approach her in any spirit of mistrust. Nobody could go

to the Institutions and Schools which have been mentioned and retain the ghost of any such suspicions as are only too rife here at home.

Up in the new Colonies, we are not yet in a position to say exactly what form our help should take. The situation is, as yet, undetermined. The Government scheme has not yet got under way. We hear, at last, by wire, that it will attempt to start the Public School for Boys which it at first suggested. If so, then probably we should best fall in with their intention by building a Church Hostel for Boarders in connection with the school. This is the form of co-operation which the Government specially desires from us. Certainly, any such school as this would urgently need a hostel, if the boys of Churchmen were to join it. Something of this kind is already being tried at Bloemfontein.

But, whatever form the problem takes in each differing Colony, it will have, in every place, to be met and solved. The Church will stand hopelessly and helplessly convicted of impotence if she cannot, in the hour of imperial stress, in a situation charged with national peril, undertake her peculiar and traditional responsibility in the sphere of higher education, with an efficiency adequate to the task, and in that largeness of spirit which is the proper outcome of a splendid Faith.

H. S. HOLLAND.

## THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

ALL missions to the heathen have this supreme interest in common, that they are efforts to fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah, which is quoted by St. Paul, with so much confidence, in Romans xv. 12: "There shall be the Root of Jesse, and He that ariseth to rule over the Gentiles; on Him shall the Gentiles hope." They are efforts to give light to those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death, to overcome the power of the evil one, and to win souls from blank unbelief or the worship of devils to a loyal and loving allegiance to the true God and His Christ.

But there are some missions which, beyond this, have a special interest of their own; and the mission whose name stands at the head of this paper is assuredly one of them. For some of us, and especially for those who have spent most of their lives at one or other of our British Universities, there are few, if any, things in the whole history of modern missionary enterprise which so kindle such enthusiasm as we are still capable of feeling as the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

That it is the *Universities'* Mission is no small thing in itself; and who will venture to say whether it is this or that University, or the mission itself, which gains most by the connection? On the one hand, the mission has the advantage of being committed to the care of that body of men in whom are centred continually some of the best hopes of the Empire, both as regards Church and State, for the coming generation. On the other hand, these men—most of them young, and with a life of promise and a promise of life before them—have their range of sympathies widened, their sense of responsibility deepened, and their natural love of romance and of adventure turned into a noble field, by frequent opportunities of taking part, either at home or on the spot, in this chivalrous campaign against

the superstition, and the ignorance, and the cruelty, and the devilry of what is indeed the Dark Continent.

It is, perhaps, not necessary, however advantageous, to be closely connected with University life in order to feel the full force of this influence; but, at any rate, there is one special aspect of the Central African Mission with which every true Englishman must have a warm sympathy—its contest with the slave trade. There is no need to harrow our feelings once more by a recital of the horrible details of that most infamous commerce, which, although much abated, still exists, because it is still profitable. We most of us have heard or read enough on the subject to know what some of these horrible details are. And those who have knowledge will not think it any exaggeration to say that, if the Universities' Mission never won a single convert to Christianity, it would still deserve our warm support for services both to religion and civilisation by its persistent and unflinching assaults upon this inhuman traffic in the living bodies of stolen human beings. Every noble feeling in our nature goes forth in admiration and gratitude—sometimes it may be almost in envy—towards the men and women who have left the comforts and sweetness of home-life in England, to go forth and labour, in a trying climate and under a tropical sun, upon such a quest as this.

But the Mission does win converts to Christianity, and makes the winning and training of them its chief care. Moreover, it is training them with so much care that a native ministry, capable of winning and retaining other converts, is being slowly built up. And it is in this work that another of its marked features—a feature which it has in common with only a limited number of other missions—comes before us. In many centres of missionary work the Christian communities which are endeavouring to win over the native population from heathenism to the Gospel have the field to themselves. The only question is, how soon and how completely they can induce the heathen people around them to leave their debasing superstitions and accept the faith of Christ. But in Central Africa, as in some parts of India and elsewhere, it is far otherwise. Here the Mission works in the face of an energetic,



persevering, and very successful competitor. The effort to win over the African tribes from their most degrading idolatries to Christianity is opposed, not only by the deep-seated traditions of countless generations, backed up by the subtle attractiveness of native rites and customs, but by the rival efforts of Mohammedan missionaries. The work is a race between Islam and the Gospel.

It is now nearly twenty years since a paper read at the Wolverhampton Church Congress provoked a great deal of controversy as to this aspect of the work of certain missions, including that of the Universities, to Central Africa. That paper made certain statements of fact, some of which were questionable, while others, even if exaggerated, contained a large substratum of truth ; and from these alleged facts a conclusion was drawn which deserved and received a good deal of attention. At the present time we are in a little better position, owing to increased experience, to judge of the facts, and therefore to judge of the correctness of the conclusion. Whether or no it be the case that, for some nations, Mohammedanism is a more suitable religion, because, on the whole, it is more intelligible and congenial, and therefore more influential, is a question which will not be argued in this paper. But it is worth while to remind ourselves of some of the alleged facts from which a conclusion of that kind has been drawn. However unwelcome alleged facts may be, we may always have this much gratitude to those who bring them forward, that they give us the opportunity of refuting them if they are fictitious, and of reckoning with them if they are not. If there be a sphere in which it is specially disastrous to live in a fool's paradise, crying " Peace, peace," where there is no peace, that sphere is mission work. But, with regard to what is here reproduced, even if the whole of what has been stated remains true, there is no reason for us to be either amazed about the past, or out of heart respecting the future. It is in our patience that we shall win, not only our own souls, but the souls to whom we are sent.

The alleged facts are mainly these :

1. Attempts to proselytise Mohammedan nations are notoriously unsuccessful. An African tribe, once converted

to Islam, never reverts to paganism, and never embraces Christianity.

Experience has proved again and again that there is a large amount of truth in that statement.

2. Mohammedanism, as a missionary religion, is more successful than Christianity. Not only are the Moslem converts from paganism more numerous than the Christian converts, but, in some regions, Christianity is actually receding before the energy and pressure of Mohammedanism. We not only do not gain ground, we fail to hold our own.

Here, again, although the amount by which the annual number of converts to Mohammedanism exceeds the annual number of converts to Christianity may have been over-estimated, there seems to be reason for believing that the balance is decidedly, and perhaps very decidedly, in favour of the Mohammedan missions. While, if we count the merely nominal converts on both sides—those who without consideration go with the multitude—the balance is enormously in favour of Mohammedanism.

3. Islam, though quite unfitted for the higher races, and especially for Western peoples, has, among barbarous peoples, and especially among non-Europeans, done more for civilisation than Christianity has done.

On this, one may remark that civilisation is a word of elastic and varying meaning. But, if the meaning be limited to those externals in which Mohammedanism so largely consists, the statement (so far as present apparent results will carry us) may possibly be true. Whether, even among the lowest savages, Mohammedanism has done more than Christianity towards laying lasting foundations for that civilisation which embraces the spirit as well as the body of man, is quite another question. Time alone, and a very long time, can give a conclusive answer to it.

Is there anything which ought to surprise, or perplex, or dishearten us in all this?

The Moslem missionary preaches so much of the truth, that it is no wonder that his barbarous disciples think that he has taught them the whole of it, and that henceforward the book is closed. As compared with their fetishism, witchcraft, cannibalism, and human sacrifices, the doctrine

that there is but one God, Who is a God of righteousness, Who hears prayer, and rewards holiness, and punishes sin, seems so simple, so lofty, and so pure, that they desire to hear nothing more. Moreover, it is difficult to make clear to them that a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity would not be a return to the discarded follies of polytheism.

Viewed in connection with this stubborn tenacity of Mohammedanism, the rapid success of its missionaries is no doubt a serious fact. But, so long as we do our duty in labouring to bring over both pagans and Mohammedans to the truth, we may be content to leave the issue in the hands of Him Whom the Mohammedan, however inadequately, worships. In the animal and vegetable world, those species which propagate themselves most rapidly are neither the most useful nor the most lasting. Why should it be otherwise in the sphere of faith and morals? We are working for Him in Whose sight a thousand years are but as yesterday; and we are working not only for time, but for eternity. We must be content to work slowly.

And is not the attempt to measure the comparative merits of two religions by statistics about visible and measurable results a mistake? It is God that gives the increase; and, if He pleases to withhold all signs of increase, our duty to go on planting and watering remains just as binding as ever. Be it so, that we make but one convert where the Moslem can count scores, and that our converts, when made, are very imperfect Christians: our obligation to promote the preaching of the Gospel is not lessened one jot. It will be no shame to us to have converted no one, if only we have done what we could. It will be both shame and sin to us if, because our efforts appear to be fruitless, we ever cease to try. The question which we shall have hereafter to answer is not, How many souls have you won? but, What have you done to win them? What have you sacrificed in money, in labour, in prayer, in order to bring Christ's truth home to those who at present either cannot, or will not, hear it? It is the object of such a magazine as this to induce more and more Christians fairly to face that question. It is a question which has to be faced, either in this world or in the next.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

## THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN BURMA.

FREQUENT mention is to be found in current literature of a "Revival of Buddhism in Burma." The movement referred to under this description cannot properly be spoken of as a revival, for such a term implies what is certainly not true, that Buddhism in Burma is moribund. The writer of this article, who has lived in Burma since 1888, has seen no signs of decay in the national religion, and finds it difficult to believe that Buddhism could ever really have had more hold on the mass of the people than it has at the present day. The receipts of the Rangoon Tramway Company on recent festival days witness that there is no diminution in the number of worshippers who flock at such times from near and far to the great Shwe Digone Pagoda ; the offerings made within the last three years or so, amounting to more than eight lacs of rupees, towards the cost of covering the upper stages of the pagoda with *plates of solid gold* are sufficient evidence of the people's faith in Gautama, to whose relics (four of his hairs) they pay so great honour and veneration. The country still supports without murmur its army of religious mendicants (numbering at the last census 73,365). There seems to be no decrease in the number of religious offerings of all kinds. Everywhere you find new pagodas and kyoungs being erected, sacred bells and images presented by pious offerers, flowers and candles brought daily to every shrine in every corner of the land. The oft-recurring religious festival draws every Burman from his ordinary occupations ; no neighbour is absent from a child-naming, an investiture (the ceremony through which every boy passes and becomes, for a short time at least, a monk), a funeral, all of which events are associated with religious functions. The native press is almost wholly occupied with the issue of new editions of the ancient books, or of orthodox *réchauffés* of the canonical literature

of Buddhism ; pious tractates on religious duties ; tales of Buddha's transmigrations, and of the world of good and evil spirits ; and plays, not very moral, but always based on religious subjects. The men, with a more or less attentive audience of women and children, still foregather after their day's work is done—and as often before, it is done—to discuss, together with less important topics, knotty or debatable points in the “excellent Law,” or to listen to the sing-song recitation of some well-known tale of the wonderful virtues or deeds of prowess of the Buddha in one of his earlier existences.

I have perhaps said enough in support of the position that Buddhism in Burma has not yet begun to show any signs of decay, and since it is so much alive, does not offer any opportunity for a revival.

But, it will be asked, what about the destructive influence on Buddhism of Christian missions in Burma ? The reply is simple—we have exercised so far but little influence on the mass of the people of that country. We hope to do so later on, but at present our mission is still in its youth—being only forty years old if we count from the very beginning—and our little band of European missionaries, working among the Burmese, has scarcely made its presence known except in a few straitly-circumscribed localities—at Rangoon, Moulmein (a day's journey by sea), Mandalay (400 miles away), Shwebo (another 200 miles). We count our converts by hundreds, but what difference do these make among eight millions ? The older Baptist and Romanist missions count many more than we, but they too have worked chiefly among the non-Buddhist peoples of the country—the Karens and others.

What then is the so-called Revival ?

The movement has made itself known chiefly perhaps through its publication, *Buddhism*. This magazine is, plainly, written with a view to the British and American public ; it cannot be of much use to the Burmese, to whom Buddhist literature is freely accessible in their own language, and it finds little sale except among the “friends” of the movement, Burmans who have been educated in England or in English schools, and who, for that reason, know less about Buddhism than the average of their countrymen.

The get-up of the magazine is excellent, and does credit to the printer. The matter, with the exception of such contributions as those of Sir Edwin Arnold and Mr. Rhys Davids, is the kind of stuff one finds in Dowie and Eddy publications, a hodge-podge of religious novelties drawn from every available source, and of pseudo-scientific and spiritualistic, socialistic and mystic "learning." Of the writers who contribute articles to the number (Nov. 1904) before me, Dr. Carus and Mr. Rhys Davids head the list; and with one exception, the (Chinese) Government Archæologist, all the rest are Europeans. The editor, who has given himself a Pali name, Ananda Maitraya, is by birth a Macgregor. He is presumably the "Scottish gentleman of scientific training" referred to by Mr. Rhys Davids in a contemporary number of the *Hibbert Journal*.

The leaders of the movement therefore are European disciples of the Neo-Buddhism "made in Germany" and England. The method of its working will appear from the following account of the career of one of the best-known of its representatives in Burma. Some years ago there arrived in Rangoon an Australian Irishman (?) named Colvin. He announced himself a convert to Buddhism and put on the yellow robes of a pongyee (monk). He was made much of by the Burmese and treated most generously. On one occasion, I remember, he was received at an up-country station with almost royal honours. Carpets were laid down in the road for him to walk on and flowers strewn in his path. The use he made of the position he had attained was to stir up his co-religionists, by nature a peaceable and tolerant people, to adopt a fanatic and arrogant attitude towards Europeans. As a result, a European artist sketching at the great pagoda was seriously assaulted because he would not take off his shoes whilst near the shrine. The Burmese Buddhists always remove their sandals when approaching the pagoda (as also when entering a private house), but never before had Europeans been required to take off their boots at the pagoda. The following is the comment of the *Rangoon Gazette* (May 11, 1904) on this incident:

"For generations Europeans have frequented the platform of the Pagoda, and their presence was not only not resented but was

welcomed by the Burmese. Recently, however, a firebrand with all the bigotry of the bigoted convert on him, has set himself to try and prevent this and to stir up ill-feeling between Burmese and Europeans. There can be no doubt that some ignorant persons have been impressed by his agitation—a walk on the platform any day will convince the sceptic who keeps his eyes and ears open that Colvin has his supporters. Happily, so far, no serious mischief has been done, but it is lamentable to see even a trace of bitter feeling against Europeans exhibited by men and women of the Burmese race. Their credulity, of course, is proverbial, and to this one must attribute their listening to the teachings of an ignorant mountebank like Colvin, who, for example, while posing as a Pali scholar and one learned in all the wisdom of the ancients, and believed to be such by a number of Burmese Buddhists, cannot write correctly half a dozen words in his mother tongue.”

Colvin (I believe he is the same person) afterwards took a high-sounding Pali name, and, advertising himself very widely, established a fund for the propagation of Buddhism (among Buddhists), then in the midst of these activities suddenly left Burma. He was heard of later in the Straits and in Japan, where he had presented himself as the “Right Rev. the Lord Abbot” of some Burmese monastery. He proposed, if I remember the account rightly, to conduct a religious mission from Japan to Tibet!

His career has been imitated by other stray Europeans of the same type. Quite recently two stokers from one of the steamers arriving in Burma found their way to a Buddhist monastery, and professing themselves converts were made honoured monks. The vernacular newspaper gives this case as an instance of the benevolence of Buddhism! Here, it says, are two poor, illiterate men who are now comfortably provided for without any need on their part of wearying labour for their bread such as they have been used to—what other religion would have done this for them?

But what is the effect on true Buddhists of the presence of these adventurers? As we have seen above, it has made the Burmese more jealous of their own religion and more inimical towards Christianity. It has done more—it has induced in those Burmans who have been affected by the movement an active opposition to, and an imitation of our Christian propaganda (of which probably they knew little

or nothing before they heard of it from these renegade Christians).

The S.P.B. (Society for Promoting Buddhism) is the challenge of the new Buddhism to the Church's "S.P.G." Schools—officered, however, by Christian teachers—have been established in rivalry with our own, in Rangoon, Moulmein and Mandalay. There is some talk of opening a Buddhist college. There is a good deal of inflated advertisement connected with these undertakings, but there is no doubt but that the movement has found wealthy and generous supporters, among whom are some who owe their education and success in life to Christian missionaries. In a Burmese newspaper received by the last mail there is notice of an examination in (Buddhist) religious knowledge, instituted by the S.P.B. But this is no novelty. The Government itself has for some years past held an education department examination for monks in the Pali language, and gives as prizes, in addition to the titles of honour, sets of clerical vestments!

Is this movement an evil, from the missionary point of view? I think not. It is serving to draw attention to the Christian religion, and to induce religious inquiry among Burmans, whom we ourselves could not hope to reach for a long time to come. Our policy must be to allow, without attempting to do more than guide them, these forces now at work to carry their subjects to the certain end of such a "Revival," namely, the negation of Buddhism, and the realisation on the part of young Burma of the need of Christ, the Deliverer and Consoler.

T. ELLIS.



## BUSHIDO IN ITS RELATION TO WOMEN

It is the fashion in England at present to talk about Bushido as if in it we had the perfection of moral teaching.

Bushido is one of those delightful intangible things that one can talk a great deal about without possessing any real knowledge of the subject. After reading a newspaper article and a couple of pamphlets anyone is qualified to discourse on its perfections and the beauty of its results; to make any serious inquiry as to the moral ideals it developed in the "Bushido" does not seem to be thought necessary. The clergy of the Church of England are not free from a sort of ignorant enthusiasm on the subject. One of them writes, "Will not the enemies of the Church all over the world say, 'If God can produce such fruits in a nation through patriotism why should the Church claim to make them better people'?"

"Such fruits"—in these words lie the kernel of the whole matter. Are the fruits produced by Buddhism and Bushido such as would be acceptable to a God of purity and justice?

If one can show that a few years of Christian influence in Japan has done more to raise the ideal of social purity in Japan than centuries of Bushido, surely those who considered that Bushido is all-sufficing for the Japanese will reconsider their rather lightly-formed opinions.

Anyone who has lived in Japan all through this war, mixing with every class of people and speaking with hundreds of wounded soldiers, cannot fail to be struck with the courage and devotion to duty of the Japanese soldier, and the patience and self-suppression of the people; but even these qualities do not cover the whole field of human conduct, and when one inquires into the ideal of purity of life set forth by Bushido, one finds that Bushido has no

influence on that part of a man's life. To illustrate this point let us take an instance from real life.

Some years ago a girl in whom I was interested was sold by her parents into the Yoshiwara.

The police regulations declare that for a girl to be sold, it is necessary that she should be over seventeen and that she should consent to her own sale, making a declaration to that effect in the presence of the police.

This condition is of very little practical value in the protection of the girl, as it is easy to mislead her with regard to the real nature of the transaction to which she is consenting.

At the time of the sale of this girl I was in England, but on my return to Japan information was conveyed to me as to where she was, and I was also told that she was most unhappy and loathed her life.

The girl had had no desire to live an immoral life, she had been persuaded to give her consent in order to make money to pay her father's debts. She sent me a message to the effect that she now found that she was "to spend her whole life in hell."

I found that escape by running away was absolutely impossible, for to do so she would not only have to escape the vigilance of the keepers of the house in which she lived, but she would also have to pass the police who keep the gates of the Yoshiwara.

Further, if she did escape to my house the police could track her, and, forcing an entrance, take her back as if she had been a criminal *or* a runaway slave.

After consultation with well-informed people I found that there was only one way by which I could release her, and that was by buying her for the original sum of twenty pounds paid for her, and in addition it was found to be necessary to pay a further sum, for the clothes she had used during her year of service there. Friends warned me of the difficulty of the case I was undertaking, but it was impossible for me to leave a girl I knew "in hell," if a mere money expenditure would give her a chance of a pure life ; so the money was paid.

Now, seven years after that happened I can look back with thankfulness to the fact that I was allowed to be the

instrument of her release. Four years ago she married a very respectable man, and has made him an excellent wife.

What has this to do with Bushido? Merely this, that it reminds us of one of the elements entirely lacking in Bushido—viz. that it gave no position nor respect to the rights of women.

Faithfulness to the marriage tie never seems to have been considered any part of the moral duty of a Bushi. The Japanese lady in the daimyo or samurai's house had to submit tamely to the presence of any number of concubines that her lord chose to have; if she protested she was divorced; the poor prostitute was forced to remain in her calling, however much she disliked it.

Against these injustices neither Buddhism nor Bushido has ever made the slightest protest.

But with the advent of Christianity things changed. A few intrepid missionaries took up the cause of fallen women by stirring up the public conscience on the matter, and also by bringing test cases before the law courts. Such a course could not fail to bring opprobrium on those who pursued it; case after case failed, but the momentous day at last came, when a judge ventured to decide that a girl who had been sold into an immoral life could not be forced to go back into it if she escaped. This of course meant that the girls were more carefully guarded than before, so as to prevent any escaping; still it was a great step, and it was brought about by the voice of Christianity, which was raised on behalf of the oppressed.

Vice is to be found in every country, but Christianity is ceaselessly lifting up its voice in protest and working for the deliverance of the victim; homes and shelters exist for the unfortunate woman, societies and guilds work for the promotion of social purity. Admirers of Bushido, who speak as if it had produced such a perfection of life and character that Christianity had but little to offer, had better examine into the conditions of women's life at the opening of "Meiji"—the period of enlightenment—the name given to the present era.

In Dr. Nitobe's book on Bushido we are told that "benevolence to the weak, the downtrodden, or the vanquished was ever extolled as peculiarly becoming to the

samurai." This precept was faithfully put into practice on the battlefield, but I fail to find that it entered into the Bushi's relations to women. Even the sacred rights of the mother to her own children were not recognised. The Bushi could divorce his wife for the most trifling cause, and in doing so could forbid the mother seeing her children again. However faithful she might be, the Japanese woman could not feel herself to be in confident possession of her children and home—some caprice on the part of her husband might at any moment deprive her of both. At the commencement of this war there were cases reported in which soldiers, in order to be more free, divorced their wives before going to the front. This seems an extraordinary idea to us Christians, but it was a literal carrying out of Bushido.

Many fine qualities are developed by the practice of Bushido, but half a century of Christianity has done more for the cause of social purity and the elevation of women than was brought about by centuries of Bushido.

S. BALLARD.

## BUDDHISM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY: A CHALLENGE.

IN the October number of the *Hibbert Journal* is an article which appeals like a clarion call to English Christians, entitled "Is the Moral Supremacy of Christendom in Danger?" to which the answer is returned by the writer of the article that

"Christendom . . . now stands confronted by a non-Christian civilisation, of vast power and splendid promise, whose claim to moral equality, at least, cannot be disregarded. . . . Buddhism, represented for the moment by Japan, is even now in the field as a claimant for that position which the vast majority of Christians regard as the indisputable birthright of their own religion."

As one who has had an intimate experience of the Far East, extending over fifteen years, and who has made a study of Buddhism and its effects upon China and Japan, I venture to suggest some considerations and to draw attention to some doubtful positions, which are maintained in the article in question.

In the first place I would submit that the estimate given of the strength of Buddhism, reckoning its professors at 500 millions, is an altogether misleading one. This estimate takes for granted that the nominal population of China, calculated at 400 millions, is entitled to be enrolled amongst the Buddhists; but it must be remembered that these 400 millions are, for the most part, Confucianists first of all, and it might be said that a large proportion of these are also affected by the teaching of Taoism. There are also some 20 to 25 millions Mohammedans, a million or more Christians, and a few Jews, to say nothing of sects which are not directly related to any

of these religions. Would it be fair, therefore, to represent the religious statistics of the country as follows:—

Confucianists . . .	400,000,000	Christians . . .	1,000,000
Taoists . . .	400,000,000	Jews . . .	400
Buddhists . . .	400,000,000		
Mohammedans . . .	25,000,000	Total . . .	1,226,000,400

To the average statistician, would not such a method of computation suggest the conclusion that the population of China was 1,226 millions instead of 400 millions? As a matter of fact the number of those who would claim to be Buddhists and nothing else, as I pointed out in an article in the *Contemporary Review* last year, is very small, and it should be borne in mind that the Buddhist *sangha*, or priesthood, as it is popularly called, is recruited to a very great extent from the children of poverty-stricken parents, and not from the ranks of those who are Buddhists by conviction.

To represent the Buddhists of China as numbering 400 millions would be equivalent to stating the religious population of England as consisting of several groups of 40 millions each, one group being denominated "Christians," another "Materialists" or Evolutionists, or any other school of thought which may find a place in combination with nominal Christianity, and thus suggesting that the religious population of England was eighty millions or 120 millions as the case might be. This consideration should tend to relieve the mind of any distress which may be caused by the bogey of a new "Yellow Peril" in the shape of "an ethical phenomenon"; for not only are there not 500 million Buddhists, properly so-called, in the world, but the Buddhism which the writer depicts is certainly not a living force amongst the mass of nominal Buddhists. Such Buddhism may be found to exist in Japan (for the most part amongst professors of comparative religion in Japanese universities); it certainly is not the Buddhism which affects the "man in the street" either in China or Japan—his Buddhism is of an entirely different kind, the essential features of which would give its original founder a very painful shock should he happen to visit an ordinary Buddhist "temple" in China or Japan to-day. Popular Buddhism in China has seen its best days. An effort is

being made by Japanese Buddhists to bring about a revival by the adoption of Christian methods, but there appears to be little ground for anticipating that such will be successful to any great extent. In China, to quote the author of "Things Chinese," "Buddhism excites but little enthusiasm at the present day; its priests are ignorant, low, immoral, addicted to opium, despised by the people, held up to contempt and ridicule, and the gibe and joke of the population." My own experience entirely supports this verdict, and I believe that Buddhism is suffered to exist as much because of the strong conservatism of the Chinese, and the power of "olo custom" (the pidgin-English for long-established usage) as for any other reason. Of course allowance must be made for the influence of the terrors of Buddhism upon the superstitious and ignorant multitude, which is undoubtedly a powerful but not an elevating factor in public morals.

Further, I would submit that the Buddhism of Japan which is outlined in the article, and elaborated in greater detail in another which precedes it, is not Buddhism pure and simple, but an amalgam—the result of centuries of contact and fusion between the Buddhism of Sâkyamuni the Hindu reformer, and early Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism, and traditional conceptions, of which ancestor worship was an important element. The debt which primitive Buddhism owes to its association with early Christianity, in and out of China, is a fact to which sufficient prominence has not been given; but I am convinced this is the real solution of the problem which suggested a diabolic travesty of Christianity to the minds of the early Roman Catholic travellers, Huc and others. An article of the late Max Müller, which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* in July 1896, confirms this opinion. This learned authority, after referring to the astonishment which Huc and Gabet expressed at the extraordinary parallel which they observed between the Buddhism of Thibet and their own system, goes on to say:

"We cannot escape from the conclusion that this large number of coincidences proves an actual historical communication between Roman Catholic and Buddhist priests. And such a channel through which these old Roman Catholic customs could have reached Thibet can be shown to have existed."

And, with regard to the ethics of Buddhism, I may quote the following from "Things Chinese."

"The ethics of Buddhism were evidently derived from those nations with whom the inhabitants of India had commercial and other relations ; including the Jewish, which was in its greatest prosperity 500 years before Buddhism was said to have existed."

And this may serve to account for the fact that whilst primitive Buddhism, when first introduced into China about 250 B.C., proved a total failure, and died out almost entirely, the Buddhism which followed, enriched from Christian sources, and assimilating more and more of Christian truth and practice, as it established itself in the empire, obtained such a hold upon the public mind, and finally dispossessed the Nestorian Christianity to which it was so much indebted.

The most popular features of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism are those whose connection with Buddhism proper are most remote, and even contradictory—I refer to the worship of Kwan-yin, commonly called the "Goddess of Mercy," of which a modern authority says, "The service appears to be framed on the model of a Christian Liturgy. . . . This form of Buddhist worship, which exists in China, is probably derived from an accommodation of parts derived from foreign, and perhaps Christian, sources. The idea of Kwan-yin itself being extraneous to the Buddhist belief, it is not surprising to find the worship which is paid to her also derived from a foreign source."<sup>1</sup> I myself have seen images of Kwan-yin with a child in her arms, which might be substituted for the Madonna and Infant on Roman Catholic altars without exciting the slightest suspicion or comment.

The worship of Amitatha, who is intimately associated with the doctrine of the "Western Heaven" (a doctrine which, I need hardly say, is diametrically opposed, in its popular form at least, to the Buddhist idea of Nirvana), may be said to have taken the place of the worship of Buddha himself, for the very natural reason that the Chinese and Japanese have little interest in the metaphysical side of Buddhism, and prefer something tangible and practical. It is a more human interest which these elements, Kwan-yin

<sup>1</sup> Beal, *Buddhism and China*, 1884, pp. 155, 157.



and Amita, appear to offer, and these new developments may be said to constitute the essential features of Buddhism as it is presented to the vast majority of Buddhists in China, and possibly in Japan also, where I believe they are equally popular, though no reference whatever is made to the first in an article in the *Hibbert* on "Buddhism and Christianity," and the second is only mentioned in a footnote as a "later development."

The contention that it is to Buddhism exclusively, or to any great extent, the credit is due for the late achievements of the Japanese is also open to strong exception.

Buddhism has little to teach with regard to the conduct of war, but Christian nations in the West have taught the Japanese much, and indeed practically all of what they know. English and German methods have been studied and pursued with a thoroughness which, to us, appears almost startling, and even causes some to raise the question whether, after all, the methods are really the same, so extraordinary, and indeed unprecedented, have been the results obtained. There can, however, be no question that the methods are really unchanged, but they have been put into execution by a new type of agent, who, in military matters at all events, is above all things "thorough." The Japanese might have easily adapted our military system without actually adopting it, and have acted upon European precedents without acknowledging their obligation; but they elected to become imitators as well as learners, and to borrow not only our methods but even our uniforms, and no detail has been allowed to escape, even down to the midshipman's dirk, and the historic extra buttons for the foot-soldiers' gaiters.

The Red Cross organisation, which is also of distinctly European origin, has been established in Japan in a way unexampled in Europe; and members of the Society do not hesitate to attach the Christian emblem upon the approaches to their dwellings, although many of them make no profession of belief in Christianity. These and a hundred similar illustrations might be quoted to show that there has been little originality in the methods employed, which are all more or less familiar to us, but are

put into practice with a thoroughness and conscientiousness which is distinctly original.

I cannot, therefore, admit with the writer that Japan "has not copied an example previously given, but set a new one to the civilised world," for it seems to me self-evident that in doing what she has done she has acted upon precedent in almost every case; and I am inclined to think that the extraordinary forbearance which was exhibited by us in our attitude towards our late enemies in South Africa may have served as an object lesson to the Japanese in their own struggle with Russia, and inspired a policy of mercy which the history of earlier campaigns would show to be unprecedented.

In the article previously referred to a quotation from Mr. Graham Wallas is given which informs the reader that "the only sane, kind, and true thing done in all the welter of stupidity and cruelty (in the troubles of 1901 in China) was done by the Buddhists of Japan when they refused to take any compensation for the destruction of their sacred buildings." I presume Mr. Wallas never heard of the joint action of all the Protestant Missions in Shansi, in refusing to accept any compensation for the destruction of all their buildings and the murder of a large number of their agents; or of similar action by independent Missions in other parts of the country! For my own part I must confess to an ignorance almost as indefensible as that of Mr. Wallas, for I must own I have not heard of the action of the Japanese Buddhists referred to, nor was I aware that they suffered as a result of the destruction of their sacred buildings; and though I have spent more than a third of my life in China, and have visited a large number of the provinces, I have never yet seen or heard of any sacred buildings belonging to Japanese Buddhists in that country!

With reference to the contention that the religion which produces the best men is necessarily the best religion, I venture to think that the statement is an unsafe and misleading one. The original character of those affected by the religion, the men themselves, the raw material, must be taken into consideration. It is quite conceivable that an inferior cabinet-maker might produce out of mahogany or

walnut a piece of furniture which would be superior in some respects to the product of a superior craftsman who was condemned to work in deal. It is possible that Buddhism might produce better men from among the Japanese than Christianity has produced from among the English, and yet it would not necessarily follow that Buddhism was a better religion than Christianity, or even more suitable to the Japanese character—and it would be unfair to contrast Buddhism, faithfully observed by the Japanese, with Christianity admittedly disregarded by the English. It would be necessary to see what Christianity would do for the Japanese under similar circumstances before it would be safe to lay down a rule upon the subject. I am, however, far from allowing that Buddhism has done more for the Japanese than Christianity even in its partial observance has done for Britons. If this is a matter where religion only is concerned and not men, I would ask how does it happen, since Buddhism has done so much for Japan, it has succeeded in doing so little for China, where it has been established for a much longer time? The answer is that which I have given above—the raw material upon which it acts is different. For my own part I would assign to the influence of Buddhism a very small share in the wonderful performances we have witnessed during the late war. There were many circumstances which told in favour of Russia's rivals, quite apart from the question of relative fitness; instances where the miserable muddling of the Russian agents, political and military, and their deplorable lack of moral character were altogether favourable to the Japanese. There was also the indifference and even undisguised hostility of the Russian soldiery, many of whom could not speak Russian—as, for instance, the large Finnish contingent in her navy—and who went into the struggle not only without enthusiasm but absolutely against their will. In some respects Japan may be said to have enjoyed extraordinary luck on many occasions; but even granting, for the sake of argument, that she fought on equal, or even disadvantageous terms, if we may inquire as to the source of that inspiration which actuated her army and navy, we shall find it in the national fighting spirit which is something inherent in races, and not necessarily

a part of any religious system. To this must be added the fact that Japan has not yet abandoned that predominant spirit of obedience which long centuries of feudalism has implanted in the national character—a spirit which is of the very essence of Confucianism, and which is still a motive power of the highest importance even in “effete China.” The “Great Learning” of Confucius, or as it might be called “Adult Studies,” is occupied with the theme of the importance of self-cultivation as the ultimate source of national tranquillity; and the “Doctrine of the Mean” starts from the assumption that men are possessed of a heaven-sent principle which is to be cultivated with a view to self-government. The duty of filial piety is urged in the “Analects” to almost extravagant limits; and the obligation of absolute self-sacrifice in the interests of the ruler finds constant illustration, not only in the classical books, but also in the “light literature” of the country. The able author of “Bushido” frankly admits, “As to strictly ethical doctrines, the teachings of Confucius were the most prolific source of Bushido,” and that “the writings of Confucius and Mencius formed the principal text-books for youths, and the highest authority in discussion among the old,” whilst with regard to the contribution which he assigns to Buddhism, we find it consisted in “a calm trust in Fate, a quiet submission to the inevitable, that stoic composure in sight of danger or calamity, that disdain of life and friendliness with death”; qualities, it may be said, which need not be attributed to the later Buddhism, since they are to be found in Chinese literature of a much earlier date than the Buddhistic writings, and are exemplified in Chinese history from the earliest times. The essential principles of Bushido, as tabulated by Mr. Nitobe, are all to be found in the Confucian classics, and “the fundamental virtues of the Samurai,” as they are called—viz. “frugality, fealty, filial piety”—may be traced in the “Analects.”

The ethics of Confucianism, which in China produce the high-souled “Scholar,” who is at the same time the ideal Ruler of his country, in the congenial soil of Japan develop the chivalrous “Bushi,” the representative of the ruling class in his own country. The essential elements are the same, the men are different, though, at the same time, it might

be shown that China has had many "Bushi" of the Japanese type, and Japan many "Scholars" of the Chinese type. The Bushido spirit is the magnificent development of the Confucian philosophy on the military side, and the feudal period of Japanese history was the psychological occasion for this development. Why Buddhism should claim a preponderating share when the real source can be traced indisputably to the older religion is difficult to understand. Perhaps a reference to the different classes of the people, and the great disparity which exists between military virtue and commercial morality, may serve to illustrate the point at issue. The former serfs, who now compose the rank and file of the army, may be supposed to have been most affected by the spirit of chivalry—they were bound to their masters by ties of affection as well as of duty, and although these obligations have been removed, as a result of the altered social conditions, the common soldier of to-day has not forgotten his duties to the officer who commands him, and who represents the old Samurai class to whom he formerly owed obedience and homage. These are the classes which have attracted so much attention, and rightly elicited so generous a tribute of applause. But what of the commercial class? These, we should say, were those upon whom Bushido exerted the minimum of influence, and who would instinctively class themselves amongst the votaries of Buddha; and in this case there is little occasion for flattery—the morality of the Japanese commercial man is a subject upon which the majority of merchants in the Far East would express but one opinion, an opinion which I would heartily endorse after painful and repeated experience; whilst with regard to the sexual morality of the lower orders of Japanese, for their own sake the less we say about it the better. I have been in parts of Japan where one might easily imagine he had been transported to Central Africa so far as regard to common decency was concerned, and I find the statement made in an authoritative quarter that, in 1900, one-third of the marriages contracted in Japan that year ended in divorce! These statements do not seem to bear out the claim made on behalf of Japan, that "she rises up in possession of all that we mean by character," and I would further raise the question, how

does it come to pass that until quite recent times very many positions of responsibility in Japanese service were entrusted to Chinese rather than to natives? In many cases which came under my own observation, the chief steward on Japanese steamers, the chief comprador in Japanese banks, the head waiter in hotels in Japan were Chinese; and the reason given was that the latter were more trustworthy than their own people—in other words, were possessed of “what we mean by character” to a greater extent than the same class of Japanese; and this in spite of the fact declared by “an observer” that “the greatest brains in all the world are to be found at this moment in Japan.” If then the Japanese are compelled to entrust these responsible positions to foreigners, it cannot be that they themselves possess a monopoly of intelligence and character.

The system of education in Japan is cited as highly deserving of praise, and this is only just. The Japanese have adopted the standard of education which obtains in England and Germany. The English language is a compulsory subject in almost all the higher schools, and advanced education at the universities is conducted through this medium. There is little difference between Japanese educational methods and our own, unless we except the ethical element, which was at one time a predominant factor in our system, but is now, alas! being gradually eliminated, owing to the tenderness of conscience of those who regard the Bible as a dangerous book when entrusted to teachers of any other sect than that of the objector himself.

When we come to consider the “moral instruction” given in Japanese schools I do not think we can fairly call it Buddhistic—it is certainly more Confucian in character, and it is part of that very same system which obtains in China, where the “young idea” begins his elementary education with moral philosophy, and is taught the duty of profound reverence for the Sage whose “scroll” is hung up in a conspicuous place in the school. The Japanese “moral instruction” is probably of a more hybrid description, and it is not impossible that Herbert Spencer would find a place in the “exercises.” It may be well to observe,

in connection with what is said above, that in large institutions where a special hall is reserved for these lectures, a picture of the Mikado occupies the "East end," and is carefully screened from view, by a sliding panel, until the "exercises" actually begin. The picture appears to be regarded with a reverence amounting almost to adoration; and in these respects it will be seen that the Japanese are acting upon a precedent which is strictly Confucian: the Mikado representing the Sage enthroned, the virtuous Ruler, which is the highest ideal of the Confucian system, the supreme object of veneration and service, and worthy of such devotion as in early times in Chinese history involved the suicide of all the high court officials at the close of the dynasty.

From these instances it may be gathered that the debt which Japan owes to Buddhism is not to be compared with that which is due to Confucianism, to say nothing of what she owes to her own national religion—Shintoism. And it would be unfair to omit from these considerations the influence which Christianity has exerted upon the country, through its connection with Buddhism in the first instance; later on through the actual existence of a Christian Church in Japan during the sixteenth century, with a membership of 300,000; again through the re-introduction of Christianity in the last century, and the adoption by the Japanese of almost all the resources of Christian civilisation; and, last of all, the influence of Japanese Christian statesmen, admirals, and leaders in different departments of thought and activity, occupying some of the highest positions in the State.

It is a somewhat curious commentary on the apotheosis of Buddhism which has been so frankly exhibited, that amongst no class of men in Japan, at the present moment, is Christianity inquired after with more eager interest than amongst those very officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Japanese army and navy who are cited as illuminating examples to the effete Christendom of the West. How strange it seems that these disciples of Bushido, the heirs of that splendid heritage, the noblest and most admirable product of the Japanese civilisation, should now be numbered by hundreds and thousands

amongst the most ardent applicants for Christian instruction and fellowship.

To deny that Buddhism has had any share in the development of this race would be unwarrantable, but it may be insisted that Buddhism is a religion least calculated to produce a race of warriors, or a strenuous people. Whatever share Buddhism may have had must be largely due, not to essential Buddhism, of which the "man in the street," whether Chinese or Japanese, knows nothing, and which Bushido professed to disregard, but to those elements which Buddhism has interwoven into her system from the religious and popular preconceptions which she has met with in her long Eastward journey. That Buddhism may be regarded as a preparation for Christianity I am fully prepared to admit—and Gautama's own remarkable words, so similar to those of John the Baptist, may be quoted in support of this persuasion—but that Buddhism can ever satisfy an awakening people like the Japanese, or ever attempt to displace Christianity from its present strongholds, is a contention which is contradicted by the logic of actual facts, of which the unprecedented demand for Christian teaching in Japan at the present moment, and the express statement of some of her most famous writers, may be quoted as evidence.

There is much in Japan's wonderful march of progress to afford us food for thought, and if we Christians could emulate something of the thoroughness and disinterestedness of her stalwart sons, and cultivate once again that spirit of obedience which, as Charles Kingsley says, "we take pride in refusing to be taught," that loyalty to an ideal which was the strength of Bushido, that devotion to a Person whom we regard as Divine, such as they delight to render to their sacred emperor, then indeed the lessons which Japan has to teach will not be learned in vain.

W. GILBERT WALSHE.



## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE APPRECIATION OF NATURAL BEAUTY.

"WHEN a man begins to appreciate scenery it shows that our efforts to teach are beginning to take effect." These words occur in a letter addressed to the writer of this article by a missionary bishop in Central Africa. The question which they raise is of interest not only to professed students of missions, but to all who are concerned with the development of the appreciation of nature, whether in the past or in the present.

Before attempting any consideration of this question it would be well clearly to enunciate what may be regarded as the ultimate object of missionary work.

The ultimate object which the Christian missionary has in view is to enlarge the area and deepen the consciousness of man's communion with God, with man and with nature. If this definition be accepted it is clear that the Christian missionary cannot afford to neglect any indication that those whom he is trying to influence are beginning to appreciate the beautiful in nature, or any course of action or teaching which may tend to develop such appreciation.

Let us begin by asking, How far is it true to say that the preaching of the Christian faith has tended in the past to develop in its converts an appreciation of natural beauty, and in particular of the beauty of landscape and of flowers? In order to prepare the way for the consideration of this question it will be necessary to inquire, How far has an appreciation of natural beauty been developed before, or independently of, the preaching of Christianity? By appreciation of natural beauty we mean the appreciation of beauty apart from association or utility, the mystic



Again he says :

" Minds which possess the feeling for the sublime are inclined to lofty thoughts of friendship, scorn of the world, eternity."

It would be easy to quote passages from Egyptian, Indian, Persian, Greek and Roman literature to show that their writers appreciated the might, the awesomeness and the majesty of nature, but we search in vain for the appreciation of the beautiful and sublime which eventually found expression in landscape painting. Schiller, speaking of the very limited appreciation of natural beauty to be found in ancient Greek literature, says :

" When we think of the glorious scenery which surrounded the ancient Greeks, and remember the free and constant intercourse with nature in which their happier skies enabled them to live . . . we cannot but remark with surprise how few traces we find amongst them of the sentimental interest with which we moderns attach ourselves to natural scenes and objects. In the description of these, the Greek is indeed in the highest degree exact, faithful and circumstantial, but without exhibiting more warmth of sympathy than in treating of a garment, a shield, or a suit of armour."

A striking instance of the lack of appreciation of natural scenery in ancient times is afforded by the references to Swiss scenery which occur in Latin writers :

" No description of the eternal snows of the Alps, . . . or of any part of the grandeur of the scenery of Switzerland, have reached us from the ancients, although statesmen and generals, with men of letters in their train, were constantly passing through Helvetia into Gaul." " Julius Cæsar, when returning to his legions in Gaul, employed his time, while passing over the Alps, in preparing a grammatical treatise" . . . " Silviu Italicus, who died under Trajan, when Switzerland was already in great measure cultivated, describes the district of the Alps merely as an awful and barren wilderness." <sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the earliest appreciation of the beauty of Swiss or Italian mountain scenery are the words of Cassiodorus, who wrote in the sixth century, " Como with its precipitous mountains and its vast expanse of lake . . . is so beautiful that one would think it was created for pleasure only." Nearly two centuries before Basil the Great had written a

<sup>1</sup> Humboldt's *Cosmos*, bk. ii., p. 24 *sqq.* ; compare also Livy's reference to the *foeditas Alpinum*.

description of the mountainous district to which he had been banished in which these words occur: "The contemplation of nature abates the fever of the soul and banishes all in sincerity and presumption."

Few would maintain that the immediate result of the preaching of Christianity was to develop an appreciation of natural scenery.<sup>1</sup> Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that Jews were the first interpreters of this faith to the world. In Hebrew poetry—that is, the poetry in the Old Testament—the power and awesomeness of nature are emphasised, and man's littleness and God's greatness are illustrated by comparison with the forces of nature.

The Jew, who inhabited a country which was more or less surrounded by deserts, had a vivid appreciation of the fertility of his own land. Thus the Psalmist says, "The valleys shall stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing." Its fertility was often used as a symbol of spiritual blessings both in the Psalms and in the latter part of Isaiah, where the prophet calls upon the trees and mountains to rejoice with him in view of what God had accomplished. Thus he says, "Break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest and every tree therein," and again, "the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the wood shall clap their hands." The words which immediately follow, "instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree," seem to show that the predominant thought in the mind of the writer was that of the glorious fertility which the blessing of Jehovah should bring to his land.

The nearest approach to a sympathetic appreciation of nature is found in the Song of Solomon, where a delight in nature figures and reflects personal love. A reaction from the polytheism and pantheism of the surrounding nations prevented the Jew from developing any communion of the soul with nature or appreciating as he might otherwise have done the inspiring influence of the scenery by which he was surrounded.

<sup>1</sup> "No one since Hellenism had climbed mountains for the sake of the view. Dante was the first to do so." Cf. *The Development of the Feeling for Nature* by A. Biese, p. 106.

In early Christian times the beauty of the world was held by many to be an enchantment of the devil. St. John's words, "Love not the world," were frequently interpreted as though they were intended to warn men of the danger of thinking too much of the beauty of nature.

No attempt can here be made to trace the slow development of the appreciation of nature from the time of the Christian era, but a brief reference may be made to the history of landscape painting, which may be regarded as in some respects an index of man's power to appreciate nature. Landscape painting, in the strict sense of the term, is of comparatively recent origin. Perspective scene painting was made to contribute to the theatrical representation of the Greek plays, and the Roman painter Ludius in the Augustan age is referred to by Pliny as a landscape painter.<sup>1</sup> But in these cases and for many centuries after the landscape was regarded as an appendage or background to the main subject.

The first landscape paintings properly so called were produced in the Netherlands, the first example being the altarpiece at Ghent completed by the brothers Van Eyck in 1432. A century later (1530), the painting of Titian for the Church of San Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, representing the death of Peter Martyr, includes woodland landscape which is very carefully elaborated. It was not, however, till the seventeenth century that any marked development of landscape painting occurred.

In the middle of the fifteenth century Pope Pius II. (Aeneas Sylvius) wrote his autobiography. It contains frequent descriptions of actual landscapes couched in language which shows the truest appreciation of natural beauty. Rousseau (ob. 1778) was the first to discover that the Alps were beautiful. As an interpreter of the beauty of nature he did for the French-speaking peoples what Goethe afterwards did for the Germans, and Wordsworth for the English. The standpoints of the three may roughly be described as deistic, pantheistic, and theistic. Great as was their devotion to nature neither of the two earlier writers could have described the all-pervading love revealed

<sup>1</sup> During the same period—*i.e.* in the epoch of Vikramaditya—landscape painting is said to have been practised in India.

in nature to which Wordsworth refers in the following lines :

“ In his heart  
Was wanting yet the pure delight of love  
By sound diffused, or by the breathing air,  
Or by the silent look of happy things,  
Or flowing from the universal face  
Of earth and sky. But he had felt the power  
Of Nature, and already was prepared,  
By his intense conceptions, to receive  
Deeply the lesson deep of love which he,  
Whom Nature, by whatever means, has taught  
To feel intensely, cannot but receive.  
Such was the Boy—but for the growing Youth  
What soul was his, when from the naked top  
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun  
Rise up and bathe the world in light ! He looked—  
Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth  
And ocean’s liquid mass, in gladness lay  
Beneath him :—Far and wide the clouds were touched,  
And in their silent faces could he read  
Unutterable love.”<sup>1</sup>

When we turn from Europe to Asia we find two countries in which appreciation of natural beauty has been developed to a far greater degree than it has been in Europe, if we except the development that has taken place during the last two or three centuries. Almost the whole of the Rig Veda consists of hymns addressed to nature gods. The later and secular Indian literature contains many beautiful descriptions of scenery. A prevailing pantheism and the belief in re-incarnation helped men to realise their nearness to nature, but at the same time made it impossible for them to rise above nature to nature’s God. St. Augustine was devoid of the keen sense of natural beauty which can be traced in the literature of India, but we feel how much more inspiring and uplifting was his conception of the beauty of nature than any that can be found there—

“ I asked the earth and she said : ‘ I am not He,’ and all things that are in her did confess the same. I asked the sea and the depths and creeping things, and they answered : ‘ We are not thy

<sup>1</sup> *Excursion*, Bk. I.

God, seek higher.' I asked the flowing breezes, and the whole expanse of air with its inhabitants made answer: 'Anaxagoras was at fault, I am not God.' I asked the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, and with a loud voice did they exclaim: 'He made us.' My question was the inquiry of my spirit, their answer was the beauty of their form."

Of the non-Christian nations, whether in ancient or in modern time, the Japanese possess by far the most remarkable appreciation of natural scenery and of the beauty of flowers. Baron Hübner (who was Austrian ambassador at the court of Napoleon III.) says:

"The Japanese are wonderful lovers of nature. In Europe a feeling for beauty has to be developed by education. Our peasants will talk to you of the fertility of the soil, of the abundance of water so useful for their mills, of the value of their woods, but not of the picturesque charms of the country. They are not perhaps entirely insensible to them, but if they do feel them it is in a vague undefined sort of way for which they would be puzzled to account. It is not so with the Japanese labourer. With him the sense of beauty is innate."

How far this appreciation of the beauty of nature is due to the influence of Buddhism it is extremely difficult to decide. Some writers have maintained that it is the direct outcome of the acceptance by the Japanese of Buddhist teaching. Others have suggested that it was because Buddhism was a religion not of ethics, but of aesthetics that it appealed so strongly to, and was accepted by, a people with whom beauty was divine. A recent writer on Japan points out the passion for perfection of detail which co-exists together with the more general appreciation of beauty:

"Coupled with an inherent aesthetic, which the Tokugawa influences fostered into exquisite taste, and linked with the Oriental habit of patient industry, Japanese thoroughness has produced the most minutely perfect specimens of art that have ever delighted the world. An artist will chisel at a little block of ivory for years—not to reap pecuniary reward, but to satisfy his passion toward perfection—until at length you hold in your hands a tiny figure which is a microcosm in itself, and will yield to the microscope alone the completeness of its dainty perfections."<sup>1</sup>

The art of painting was fostered and was perhaps introduced by Buddhism. Shinto appears to have had no art. Its ghost houses, silent and void, had no decoration, and continue in their pristine simplicity to the present day. It cannot, however, be claimed that Japanese art or painting has interpreted man to himself or nature to man as has been done by those who lived in a Christian atmosphere.

"The Japanese," says Professor Chamberlain, "are undoubtedly Raphaels of fishes and insects and flowers and bamboo-stems swaying in the breeze, and they have given us charming fragments of idealised scenery. But they have never succeeded in adequately transferring to canvas 'the human form divine,' they have never made grand historical scenes live again before the eyes of posterity, they have never, like the early Italian masters, drawn away men's hearts from earth to heaven in an ecstasy of adoration."

When we turn to the country where Buddhism has exerted the greatest influence, *i.e.* Burma, we find that the Burmese possess a considerable appreciation of the beauty of colour and form. Yellow is their favourite colour, but in this case the idea of beauty is clearly associated with that of preciousness. Gold is one of the most frequently used words in the Burmese language.

In a recent letter which the writer of this article received from one who has lived long amongst the Burmese, the author says :

"The Burmans admire sweet perfumes, a nice dress, a pleasant face, a neat garden, pretty flowers, clear water, bright ornaments, a shady glade (but not the deep forest), bright, cheering dawn (but not the sun in its full power—it is hot and inconvenient), the clear, cool light of the moon.

"Their ideal garden is one in which there are pretty flowers, trees planted in geometrical order, and a neat masonry tank. Purely natural beauty does not appeal to them. The sight of cultivated fields, of healthy-looking plantations, fruit-laden trees gratifies their eyes; the uncultivated 'jungle' is so much waste land. I do not think a Burman would understand one who spoke to him of 'beautiful' trees, or 'beautiful' mountains, valleys, rivers. A tree is shady, or yields beautiful flowers, or good fruit, or is useful for timber; it is nothing more. A mountain is big, it is an obstacle to travel, it is the abode of wild beasts, or wild men. A river is difficult to cross, or is useful as a means of communication or for fishing; the sea is solely a thing to be dreaded.



"The sun is employed in figure as an emblem of might, the moon of benignant dignity ; the stars do not seem to suggest imagery—they are but astrological signs, the sky is described only with reference to the weather—as 'cloudy,' 'dark,' &c.

"There are no words in Burmese corresponding to our 'scenery,' 'landscape,' 'view' (in its technical sense). The Burmese never paint landscapes ; the artist's subjects are human, or architectural, trees and flowers being added only as ornaments. The ornamentation on silver-work, cloth-work, lacquer-work, in wood, stone, &c. consists of geometrical or floral designs, or of figures.

"We may conclude therefore that the Burman does not appreciate the beauties of what we call 'scenery.' I cannot recall any passage in any Burmese writing I have read, descriptive of a landscape ; I cannot remember any Burman expressing admiration of 'scenery' ; I should never expect to see him stop to take in a 'view'."

Inasmuch then as Buddhism has not succeeded in developing to anything like the same extent the appreciation of natural beauty in the country in which it has long exercised the greatest influence, it would seem that a large measure of the credit for what has been attained by the Japanese must be given to themselves. One of the most inspiring hopes of the Christian missionary is that the day will come when this people to whom he is endeavouring to explain the message with which he believes himself to have been entrusted, will be able to grasp and to interpret to the world the underlying meaning of the beauty which they have developed so great a capacity to appreciate.

If the ancients possessed but an imperfect consciousness of the beauty of natural scenery, they seem to have lacked altogether any appreciation of the beauty of flowers. Flowers were constantly used as ornaments or decorations, the prettiness of their form and colour was recognised, but if we may judge from the literature which has survived, there was no appreciation of the glory and significance of flowers such as that of which Wordsworth speaks in his "Intimations of Immortality :"

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Still less would it be possible to find in ancient literature any consciousness of the possibility of intercommunion between man and plants such as that suggested by the lines :

“ One impulse from the vernal wood  
 May teach you more of man,  
 Of moral evil and of good,  
 Than all the sages can.”<sup>1</sup>

Theocritus and Meleager contain frequent references to flowers, but even they did not look upon flowers as beautiful in themselves. The only approach in Greek art to such an appreciation is in the acanthus leaves carved on the Corinthian columns, but this is conventionalised and reduced to a geometrical formula.

It would be impossible to find in classical or in Jewish pre-Christian literature any parallel to the command of Christ, “ Consider the lilies of the field how they grow.” This, and the further statement that not all the wealth of the world, or the gorgeous raiment which wealth might provide, could make a man as beautiful as a flower of the field, constituted a new revelation. The fact that this command to contemplate flowers is apparently never referred to by any of the Christian Fathers seems to show that the world was not yet prepared to appreciate its significance. Many centuries were to pass before obedience to this command of Christ was to exert any visible influence on the world.

Amongst native races in Central Africa, as the writer has proved by his own experience, the surest way in which to be mistaken for a lunatic is to be seen picking wild flowers ; so completely wanting is the appreciation of their beauty. In Japanese schools, on the other hand, a large amount of time is devoted to instruction in the arrangement of flowers, both wild and cultivated, and few, if any, peoples derive so keen enjoyment from their contemplation ; but what the Japanese lack and what is essential to the deepest appreciation of natural beauty, whether of flowers or scenery, is the consciousness that beauty in nature is the sign and sacrament of a beauty which lies behind nature.

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth, *The Tables Turned*.

There is no touch of spirituality, no hint of mystery, no sense of something underlying nature. We look forward with hope to the time when Japanese poets shall add to their close observation of natural beauty that religious sense which shall enable them to interpret to their fellow countrymen and to us the significance of the divine beauty of which nature is in part a revelation.

Thus the present Bishop of Lahore says :

"Who that has seen anything of the innate sense of beauty which is so wonderfully developed in the Japanese character can doubt what one at least of its contributions to our common life will be when they, in God's good time, take their place alongside of us in the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, and as members of the Body of Christ? I often think that in such a text as that of Isaiah, 'Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty,' a depth of meaning will open out to Japanese minds and hearts, and a power of attraction be exercised upon them, far beyond that which is present, or which is possible in our own case."

We began by defining the ultimate object of Christianity and therefore of the Christian missionary as the enlargement of the area and the deepening the consciousness of man's communion with God, man, and nature. In order that this threefold object may be approximately fulfilled man must realise his own individuality. The pantheist who believes that there is no line of demarcation between himself, nature, and God ends by degrading himself and God to the level of inanimate nature, and becomes incapable of developing any communion with nature which can uplift or inspire him. So too the man who believes, as was the case with so many in the early Christian centuries, that he and his fellow men are born into the world as children of the devil, and that the material world is essentially evil, will naturally feel that to attempt to hold communion with nature is worse than vain.

Such communion can only be attained by the man who believes that he is himself distinct from nature, and that nature is the handiwork of a personal Being, who believes also that the words of the old Jewish writer were and remain true, "God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good."

Furthermore, inasmuch as men have never succeeded

in discerning the love of God revealed in nature until they have first discerned that love revealed in Christ, the acceptance of the faith of Christ should prepare the way for the fullest and deepest communion with nature. For the Christian—

“Heaven above is softer blue,  
Earth around is sweeter green :  
Something lives in every hue,  
Christless eyes have never seen.”

No one would suggest that the primary object of the Christian missionary should be to teach his converts to climb mountains or to contemplate the beauty of flowers. Nevertheless, the missionary whose ultimate object is “to widen the area and deepen the consciousness of man’s communion with nature, man, and God” will welcome every sign which tends to show that the minds of those to whom his appeal is made are becoming increasingly responsive to the beauty of the divine handiwork of which nature is at once the expression and the veil.

If it be true to say that every country and every people have something to contribute to the interpretation of the Christian faith, and that the completion of the Christian revelation awaits the contribution of each, may we not go further and say that every department of nature has some contribution to make, and that the significance of the divine revelation in Christ will only be fully grasped when God’s revelation of Himself in nature is perfectly understood?

CHARLES H. ROBINSON.

## EDITORIAL NOTES

*Introductions to our readers.* *Professor Rudra*, the author of the article, "Is India thirsting for religious truth?" has been for fifteen years the chief native professor in St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

He is a professor of philosophy, and has rendered great service to the college, which is under the general direction of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. He is an M.A. of Calcutta and a Fellow of Lahore University. His father was a Brahman, but he was himself born a Christian.

The *Rev. W. H. Campbell*, the writer of the article on "Mass Movements in the Mission Field" has been working for more than twenty years in connection with the London Missionary Society in Southern India. During the greater part of this time he has been engaged in itinerating work, and has thus been brought into close touch with the natives. He took part in the recent revision of the Telegu Bible. The question with which the article deals is one of unique interest in view of the probable development of Christianity in India.

The *Rev. G. Walshe* worked for about ten years in connection with the C.M.S in the province of Chekkiang, China. For the last five years he has been working on behalf of the Christian Literature Society of China, and has translated or composed seventeen books in classical Chinese.

The *Rev. T. Ellis* has for the last fifteen years been working as a missionary in connection with the S.P.G. in Burma.

*Dr. Alfred Plummer* is well-known as a commentator and as a writer on patristic subjects. He has taken a special interest in the work of the U.M.C.A.

*Susan Ballard* who writes on "Bushido in its relation to women" was for thirteen years connected with St. Paul's Guild, Tokyo. She is now engaged in evangelistic work

in Japan on behalf of the S.P.G. Our readers will remember the very interesting article which she wrote for *THE EAST AND THE WEST* on "Christian martyrs in Japan."

It is not necessary to offer any introduction to *Bishop Johnson* or to *Canon Scott Holland*, but we may perhaps remind our readers that Bishop Johnson as Metropolitan of India visited practically every mission station in connection with the Church of England in India, and has since taken the keenest interest in the organisation of missionary work at home. Canon Scott Holland speaks of what he knows and has seen in South Africa. Many of our readers will probably have read some of the accounts which have been published of his visit to that country.

*The relation of  
the Government  
in Ceylon to  
Buddhism.*

IT is difficult to see what other reply Mr. Lyttelton could have given than that which he gave to the representatives of three missionary societies who waited upon him recently to ask him to advise the King to disannul the ordinance relating to the control of Buddhist revenues in Ceylon which has been passed by the Ceylon Legislative Council. The ordinance provides that where any scandal has occurred owing to the misappropriation by private individuals of funds which belong to Buddhist temples, it shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint a Government agent to control or assist the local committee which has charge of the administration of such funds. The representatives of the missionary societies urged that this action would lead the Buddhists in Ceylon to suppose that theirs was the state religion. Mr. Lyttelton expressed his entire inability to accept this contention. He pointed out that the Charity Commissioners interfered from time to time in order to secure the just administration of funds belonging to many different religious bodies, including Roman Catholics, Mohammedans, and Buddhists, but that no one had been led to suppose that this interference, which was authorised by the Government, constituted anything more than a recognition of the existence and of the right to continue to exist which appertained to

these bodies. As far as we have been able to ascertain, after consulting persons of distinguished legal experience in India, the principle which it is proposed to adopt in Ceylon is one that has on several occasions been acted upon in India without any untoward results. In the Madras Presidency several heathen religious endowments have been managed by English Government officials. The fact that the law courts in Ceylon and India are open to all is not a sufficient protection. When money which constituted a religious endowment is stolen by private individuals it often happens that the parties interested cannot afford to incur the costs of litigation or do not dare to encounter the certain animus of those against whom the proceedings would have to be taken. The impotency of the public to secure the due administration of such trusts led some of the educated natives of Madras, some time ago, to urge the Government to introduce such a scheme as that proposed for Ceylon whereby inquiry might be made into cases of alleged misfeasance without subjecting the complainants to the pecuniary and other risks to which, in the ordinary course, they would have been exposed.

It is more than likely that some of the Buddhist leaders in Ceylon will endeavour to misrepresent the significance of the action of the Government, but the possibility or even certainty that their action would be wilfully misconstrued could not justify a Christian Government if it refused to extend to any class of its subjects the common protection of the law. A far more important question than that to which we have referred will shortly be raised in Ceylon if, as is reported, the Government decide to introduce compulsory education. The scheme would specially apply to the "plantations" where only 3,000 out of 46,000 children of school-going age are at present being educated. Whilst prepared to extend a cordial welcome to any scheme which will develop the intelligence and culture of the people of Ceylon, we trust that those who are responsible for the proposed measure will see that justice is done to the existing missionary schools and that no new restriction of any kind be placed upon the teaching in them of the Christian faith.

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*Baptism within  
the purdah.*

WE are not in a position to insert any further article in our present issue dealing with this subject, which has been discussed in the last two numbers. We should be glad, however, to promote a further discussion of the subject by those who have had practical experience of the difficulties which have to be met. As far as we can gather from interviews with several Indian bishops and other Indian missionaries, there are many women behind the purdah who would gladly receive baptism, and there are a certain, though much smaller, number of husbands who would raise no objection to the baptism of their women, but inasmuch as the women are expected to take their part in family customs which are partly religious and partly social and secular, the difficulty would be great of obtaining any trustworthy assurance that no distinctively religious rite should be thereafter performed by the woman. Possibly a committee of experts in native customs might be appointed in each diocese to draw up rules relating to the performance of the customary family rites, the acceptance of which by both husband and wife should be required before permission should be given in each individual case for the deaconess to baptise. What is clearly incumbent upon the Church in India is to see that no artificial or unnecessary obstacle be allowed to stand in the way of women who are Christians at heart, and who desire to receive the Christian sacraments, from obtaining that which they desire and need.

*A war correspondent  
on foreign  
missions.*

IF every war correspondent for a daily paper would take the trouble to investigate the missionary work in the districts through which he passes, which Mr. F. A. Mackenzie, the special correspondent of the "Daily Mail," apparently took, the prejudice which many intelligent persons feel against foreign missions would greatly decrease. In his recently published book entitled *From Tokyo to Tiflis*, Mr. Mackenzie says :—

"To me Pingyang was, and is, chiefly notable as being the centre of one of the most noted missionary works in the world. It was my good fortune during my several visits to that city to



have many opportunities of studying the doings of the missionaries there. I had several of their converts in my service for many months in Korea and Manchuria, and I can speak of what I myself know. I am the more glad to do so because only a few months since a writer, whose work attracted much attention in England and America, took occasion to make a sweeping attack on the American Protestant missionaries in this land, charging them with the greed of gain, luxurious living, and the taint of commercialism. To myself, and to all of my fellow war correspondents with whom I discussed the matter after we had seen the daily lives of the men, the charges seemed so absurd that we could only explain them on the ground that the writer knew nothing of the subject. For self-sacrifice, for patient endurance in well-doing, and for a serene ignoring of personal risks, the American Protestant missionaries of Northern Korea deservedly rank very high. Their converts, so far as one had the opportunity of testing them in the daily life of a correspondent's camp, are straightforward, honest, and worthy of their profession. The missionaries themselves, I have no hesitation in saying, deserve admiration and regard in the highest degree. . . . Hasty globe-trotters may criticise them. I have seen too much of their work to do so."

This testimony is the more striking as it follows upon the most pessimistic account of the general misgovernment and of the moral character of the people of Korea which could be found anywhere. Mr. Mackenzie's testimony to the fact that Korean converts to Christianity proved good servants speaks much for the transforming power of their adopted faith.

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*Invincible  
Ignorance !*

WE were told by the head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi a short time ago that as far as he was able to judge not more than two per cent. of the English visitors who passed through Delhi ever troubled to call at the Mission or to make any inquiries in regard to the character of the work which was being done by the missionaries. The exceeding bitter complaint which the missionaries have to make is not that their work is disparaged and condemned, but that it is disparaged and condemned by those who have never taken the trouble to look at it. There is a

story told of the late Archbishop Temple which suggests the kind of self-denying ordinance which we desire to see adopted by visitors to India after their return to England. Dr. Temple had been asked to take the chair at a meeting which had been called to discuss a motion of censure upon a recently published book, which, as it appeared, nearly all who had come to the meeting were prepared to condemn. Before the subject was introduced, Dr. Temple got up and said that he had a motion which he desired to submit to the meeting. The motion was to the effect that no one should join in the discussion who had not himself read the book. This having been agreed to, it then appeared that no discussion could take place, as the chairman was the only one present who had read the book, and he was not prepared to offer an opinion upon its contents. Missionaries, or at least most missionaries, would welcome the criticism of well-informed persons, however hostile it might prove to be; what they feel that they have a right to deprecate is the criticism of Missions, whether the criticism be friendly or hostile, which is so frequently forthcoming from those who really do not know what they are talking about.

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*Lord Curzon's  
farewell to  
India.*

It has sometimes been alleged by those connected with missionary work in India that its last viceroy did not show as much tangible interest in missionary work as he did in Hindu and Mohammedan religious enterprises. Whether the statement be true or no, we are not in a position to judge, but we cannot but feel grateful to him for his parting words spoken at a farewell meeting in Bombay. The chief hindrances to missionary work in India at the present moment are the irreligious lives of some of its English residents. If Lord Curzon's words might produce the result which he desired, they would render the conversion of India to the Christian faith a comparatively easy task. He said :

"A hundred times in India I have said to myself, 'Oh, that to every Englishman in this country as he ends his work might be truthfully applied the phrase—thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity.' No man, I believe, ever served India faithfully to

whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation of that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same to fight for right, and abhor the imperfect, unjust, or mean. Swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left. Care nothing for flattery, applause, or odium and abuse. It is so easy to have any of them in India. Never let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim; remember, when the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in Whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism and dawn of intellectual enlightenment or sense of duty where it did not before exist. That is enough. That is the Englishman's education in India. It is good enough for his watch-word while he is here, for his epitaph when gone."

*The English  
universities and  
foreign Missions.*

A few years ago an American citizen offered a sum of money to Chicago University on the understanding that the university would undertake to appoint annually a representative, who need not necessarily be a member of that university, whose duty it should be to deliver a course of lectures in the principal cities of India, "in which in a friendly, temperate and conciliatory way the great questions of the truths of Christianity, its harmonies with the truths of other religions, its rightful claims and the best methods of setting them forth, should be presented to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India." Three courses of lectures have so far been delivered. The last lecturer appointed extended the sphere of his labours to Japan, and was invited by the authorities of the Imperial University in Tokio to lecture to its students. This invitation, which could not possibly have been given to an ordinary missionary, was given to the lecturer as an official representative of an American university. We greatly wish that some one of our readers would offer either to Cambridge or Oxford the comparatively small sum that would be needed to enable a course of lectures to be given by a qualified representative of the university in India and in Japan either yearly or every second year. It would be

hard to estimate the help which these lectures would be to those who are now engaged in actual missionary work as well as to those to whom they would be delivered.

We hope to include in our next issue an article by the Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht in which he advocates the establishment of a professorial Chair for the study of Missions at one or more of our English universities.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### MISSIONS AND CASTE IN INDIA.

DEAR SIR,—It may seem presumptuous in me to criticise one who has so wide a knowledge of foreign missions all over the world, and ungracious in me to run counter to one who has such a real sympathy with mission work as Dr. Dennis. At the same time, as a practical worker in the mission field, and as the founder of the Caste Suppression Society, to which Dr. Dennis refers in his article (page 469) of the October number of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, it would be scarcely fair to your readers if I did not say a few words on the other side of the question—*i.e.* on the actual state of caste among the members of the Christian Church in South India, as distinguished from the general condemnation of the same by bishops, conferences and missionaries. I will confine myself to two statements, and then give my own experience in this field.

First, Dr. Dennis (p. 461) tells us how the Madura Mission of the American Board in 1847 “adopted a resolution compelling all natives entering the service of the Mission to renounce it (caste), as a condition of their securing employment.” This is quite true; but then he goes on to add: “The requirement was carried through, and *has been adhered to ever since.*” I have italicised the last clause, as it is here that we differ. I have known the Madura Mission and its admirable missionaries for the last quarter of a century; the Rev. Dr. Jones, of Madura, has been my staunchest supporter in the anti-caste movement, and I have lectured with him on the same platform at Madura. Now I have no hesitation in saying that it would be a matter of sincere congratulation if it could be shown that 5 *per cent.* of the agents in the Madura Mission had wholly and completely abandoned caste.

Secondly, Dr. Dennis writes (page 462):—“It was well known that the former Bishop of Madras, Dr. Gell, regarded caste as

wholly indefensible, and not to be countenanced in any way within the pale of the Christian Church." Theoretically, Bishop Gell was as strongly opposed to caste in the Church as we all are ; but, though one hates to write it, remembering the rule, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, he practically upheld it. I will quote only one illustration. I once baptised a man and his family taken from the pariah, *i.e.* the lowest and most down-trodden, class. As catechumens they had sat apart from the other Christians in Church. After the baptism I told them to sit with the other Christians. This the latter resisted with all their might. They brawled in church for half an hour ; they bolted the church door against the converts ; they resisted me by force ; and finally they deserted the church in a body to the number of about two hundred. I reported the matter to Bishop Gell, and he, while condemning caste theoretically, ordered the new converts to sit apart in one of the transepts, saying it was well for them to learn humility.

The fact is that caste still holds the field in undisturbed possession throughout the Missions of South India, and that the number who are willing to give up the use of caste-titles, to dine with Christians of other castes, or to intermarry with them, is an extremely small percentage of the whole community ; and this, too, among the clergy and mission agents. What then shall we say of the laity ? Catechumens when baptised are not asked to renounce caste, nor are priests when they are ordained. We have barely touched the fringe of the evil ; and as a corporate Church we have never attempted to tackle it. We missionaries preach against it, and we use occasional opportunities to check it, but the great stream flows on incessantly and unrestrainedly. Theoretically, we all, English and natives, denounce it ; practically, we all permit it or practise it. We speak against it, we write against it, and in fact we do everything but *act* against it. Until the Church as a whole, and the different Nonconformist bodies, unite in some active policy, the evil will go on and flourish, sapping the while our spiritual strength and frustrating our best efforts to make our people real and earnest Christians. When shall we wake to the necessity of some united action ! As Dr. Dennis rightly observed, we do not want "any violent or arbitrary measures," but we shall never succeed till we have a steady policy which we are prepared to translate into concerted action.

J. A. SHARROCK.

Trichinopoly, S. India.

## BAPTISM WITHIN THE PURDAH.

SIR,—Since this article appeared in your July number, it has been pointed out to me that there is a very interesting passage in Vaughan's *The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross* (Longmans & Co.), which was published in 1876, and which seems to indicate that the great problem suggested by this subject was as pressing thirty years ago as it is now. I venture to quote the passage in full, hoping that you may be able to find space for it.

"As regards actual baptisms it would neither be surprising nor very discouraging if we had none to speak of. It must be borne in mind that serious as are the obstacles to an open confession of faith in the case of a man, they are vastly greater in the case of a *woman*. How is she to get baptism? No missionary can penetrate the recesses of the Zenana: she must then come to the missionary; she must quit her life-long seclusion and come into the outer world, and *accept all the consequences*. And what are these? Why, the very act involves the loss of home, husband, and children: she must cast herself on the charity of strangers and foreigners, and what her future may be she knows not!

"It is no secret that, besides the little company of believing women who have avowed their faith by baptism, there are numbers who have embraced Christ in their hearts. Yes, many a gentle, timid spirit in the seclusion of her domestic prison is firmly clinging to the Cross for peace and safety; many a trembling believer is at this moment enduring great searchings of heart: on the one hand are the tender pleadings of natural affection, on the other is the stern voice of conscience. Confess Christ openly," says the letter, 'and take up your cross!' 'I long to do it,' is the tremulous reply, 'but, oh! *such a cross!* may I not wait, and hope, and work; may I not first try to enlighten and save those who are so dear to me, and hope for the future?'

"And what shall we say? It is easy to say, 'Let the dead bury their dead'; but the question is, what *ought* we to say in a matter of this peculiar and delicate nature? Should we advise every believing wife and mother at once to come out for baptism, knowing all that this step involves? The question has repeatedly come before us in a practical shape; devoted Zenana teachers have asked for counsel in cases of the kind described. We trust we have not done wrong in saying, 'Urge no woman to quit her home; take care that she shall know what the Master says, but leave the onus of decision with herself.'

"Some years ago, a husband in Calcutta witnessed a scene of

touching import. His wife was dying; she had long been a believer. He was sitting by her bedside when she asked him to open a drawer and bring to her the book which had long been her counsellor and consolation. She received the volume from his hands, and then, devoutly placing it on her head, blessed God for that priceless treasure. Anon, she requested the husband to bring her some water. He knew not her object, but fulfilled her request. Then followed a scene which would have melted any Christian heart, and which even the Hindu husband beheld with wondering awe. The dying woman took the vessel of water in her hand, then looking to heaven asked a blessing on the act she was going to perform, and craved forgiveness if she were doing wrong. *She then poured the water on her own head, repeating the names of the blessed Trinity as she did so.* Not long after she passed away."

Surely we have here a most interesting record of a case where baptism by a deaconess would have been welcomed.

Is it unlikely that to-day, after thirty more years work by our Zenana missionaries amongst these purdah women, there may not be similar cases?

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.

## REVIEWS.

*Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient publiés par le Père Antoine Rabbath, S.J. Tome Premier.*  
London: Luzac & Co. Price 6 francs.

FATHER RABBATH is a Jesuit Professor in the University of St. Joseph at Beyrout. He has employed his leisure for sixteen years in collecting documents, chiefly of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, regarding the work of Roman Catholic missions in the Near East, and in this volume he has given us the first instalment of his collection. The title of his book is somewhat misleading. By Christianity the author means Latin Christianity, and by the East more especially the Levant; while he practically ignores the work of all the orders other than his own. The work, moreover, has two defects which it is to be hoped that the author will remedy before he completes his labours—it contains neither a historical sketch of the period, nor an index. Each document is headed by a brief but excellent summary. Many of the documents, however, suffer for want of the historical context, notably those relating to the exile and death of the Syrian Patriarch Ignatius Peter, and the martyrdom of the

Armenian Der Gourmidas. The original documents confront the reader without note or comment.

These documents are twenty-three in number, chronologically arranged in two divisions. The first, and by far the greatest number are in French; the rest in Latin, Italian, Portuguese and Arabic. They range in time from 1578 to 1773, and the majority refer to Syria, but we have also notices of the Jesuit missions in Persia, Egypt, and Abyssinia. They consist of official reports, clerical and lay, memoirs, extracts from private letters, and similar sources, and have this advantage over the *Lettres édifiantes* that they were never meant to stimulate the public zeal. They vary greatly in length and importance, but almost all throw some light on the state of the country or on the missionary methods of the Jesuits. The most important are those relating to the Maronite mission of 1578-1580, and the report of the superior, the Rev. Father Poirresson, on the Jesuit missions in Syria in 1652.

The mission to the Maronites was completely successful. The Maronites became a devoted branch of the Latin Church. They acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope and the Western form of the Nicene Creed, and in return they were allowed to retain their Syriac office, their Church calendar, and their married clergy. Cardinal Caraffa's instructions to the Jesuits, printed in this volume show with what wisdom and tact the transaction was managed. The Jesuits were required to show the utmost friendliness, to observe everything, to stimulate the lukewarm, and repress inconvenient zeal, to give both pecuniary and other aid, and to abstain from all disputation while pointing out errors in the administration of the Sacraments. They were to gain the confidence of the political and ecclesiastical chiefs, and to impress on them that wherever anything was wrong, the Pope in his paternal solicitude would put it right. The missionaries were to act with dexterity and tact, as fathers with their children, remembering that the Maronites were a rude and simple people, *gente idiota e semplice*. At the same time the Maronites were flattered with the belief (which was not quite true) that they had always been a branch of the Catholic Church. The Maronites in the fastnesses of the Lebanon were only nominally subject to the Porte, and the political jealousy of the Turks had here no scope, so that the task of the missionaries was comparatively simple. And it was executed with complete success. In 1582, Gregory XIII. founded the Maronite school at Rome. Since then all the higher Maronite clergy have been educated in it, and the labours of the Assemani have given it a European reputation.

Elsewhere in Syria the circumstances were widely different, and Father Poirresson's report, dated 1652, gives an excellent picture of the country, and of the missionary methods of the



Jesuits. It is interesting to note how little change, comparatively speaking, there has been in the last two and a half centuries. The Jesuit mission in the Levant was always a small one. While batches of twenty and thirty Jesuits started almost yearly from Portugal for Goa, and spread themselves from that centre over China, Japan, and Abyssinia (the Jesuit missions in Persia and Tibet were somewhat later), the number of Jesuits in Syria seldom exceeded a dozen during the seventeenth century, and was generally much less. When the order was suppressed in France in 1764 there were only sixteen Jesuits in the Levant. Moreover, the Jesuits were late comers, the Capucins, Carmelites, and other orders having been at work long before them. Indeed, historical justice has scarcely been done to the missionary labours of the Capucins. These older missions treated the Jesuits sometimes with friendliness, but quite as frequently with suspicion. In the seventeenth century Aleppo, Damascus, Saida, and Tripoli were the chief Jesuit stations, and the work was practically confined to the towns, the missionaries being too few in number to visit the villages systematically. Under the capitulations European priests were allowed to look after their own countrymen in the dominion of the Turk. The King of France was the official protector of the Christians, and most of these Jesuit missionaries were Frenchmen supplied with funds from France. The Venetians, the Dutch, and the republic of Ragusa had consuls at some of the Syrian and Egyptian seaports, but the French consul at Aleppo, who acted also for the United States of Holland, was the only European consul in the interior of Syria, while the French Ambassador at Constantinople secretly corresponded with the Holy See, and occasionally pensioned native Christian ecclesiastics who Romanised. The ostensible business of the missionaries was to look after the European merchants settled in the Levant and the sailors who visited its shores. They did their duty by both, composing the quarrels and sometimes regulating the dealings of the merchants, and looking after the sailors, who were generally very ignorant. Many of them, say the missionaries, had not communicated for years, if ever. The missionaries visited them diligently : if they found the mariners too busy to attend to them or to say an Ave Maria, they demanded an alms for the poor. There were also captives, chiefly Poles, whom the missionaries tried to ransom. Beside the small number of Europeans in Syria, there were the Turks, the Jews, and the native Christians. In Aleppo, says Father Poirresson, there were "*turcs, juifs, hérétiques, schismatiques, naturalistes, idolâtres*"; including four divisions of Mohammedans, he counts sixteen religious sects in all. The *idolâtres* were the Sabæan sun-worshippers, the *naturalistes* the Druses, and the Hindu merchants who worshipped one God but had an extraordinary veneration for the cow. The Jesuits tried to be on

good terms with them all, had a smile and a joke for the children, and conversations on religious subjects with the elders. But they made no attempt to convert either Mohammedans or heathens. The conversion of a Muslim meant certain death, the death by fire of the convert, and the probable destruction of the mission, in an outbreak of popular fury. Throughout these documents there is not a single record of a Mohammedan's conversion, while we frequently hear of the apostasy of individual Christians. Sometimes these are high ecclesiastics who apostatise in order to save their lives; more frequently they belong to the lower classes, and apostatise on account of quarrels or of poverty. Young girls who entered Turkish harems in order to live supplied many of the recruits. Nor were the Jews more accessible than the Turks, although for other reasons. We read of attempts to get Jewish children to school, but the parents' jealousy withdrew them after a short interval. Thus the missionaries were obliged perforce to turn their entire attention to the native Christians. The native Christian communities were passionately attached to their faith; they severely boycotted apostates, and although much oppressed, they never yielded except under extreme pressure. They were for the most part poor. The Jacobites who were found in the interior of Syria were artisans and day labourers, but at Aleppo many were merchants and shopkeepers. The Armenians were better off and in greater esteem; at Aleppo they numbered about 20,000. Of the Greek Church and the Melkites we hear comparatively little in this volume, and we have already spoken of the Maronites. Universal ignorance prevailed both among Mohammedans and Christians, and any one who could read and write was accounted learned. But the Christians were exceedingly ignorant of their own religion. Many of them knew nothing of Christianity except the sign of the cross and the words "*Kyrie eleison*." But they fasted vigorously, abstained from eggs in Advent and fish in Lent, and were submissive to their clergy. Children joined both in the fasts and in the Eucharist. The monasteries were numerous in proportion to the population.

Persuaded that there was no way of salvation outside the Roman Catholic Church, and determined to proselytise, the Fathers did their utmost, with the help of the French Ambassador or consul, to promote their own secret or open adherents to the headship of the national churches. The latter half of the seventeenth century is largely taken up with these attempts. When the missionaries succeeded, the conservative party, which was always the most numerous, elected a rival candidate; then came a storm, and with the storm the interference of the Turks. The papers in this volume contain two tragic histories which are a bitter commentary on this text. The first is the story of the Syrian Patriarch Ignatius

Peter—as he calls himself. One of his predecessors, Ignatius Simeon, having embraced the Catholic faith, and gained over a number of his followers, (“catholicam fidem amplexus complures ad eam adduxit” says Le Quien), had to abandon Mardin and make his seat at Aleppo. His successor was Andreas Achigian, a Syrian Christian, who had to take refuge with the Maronite Patriarch on account of his adhesion to Rome. The Patriarch made him a bishop, and the French consul and the missionaries, casting about for a suitable candidate, obtained from the local authorities his appointment, first to be the bishop and then the Patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites at Aleppo. Andreas’ seat was insecure; he led a troubled life, and had repeatedly to fly. On his decease, his rival Abdul Masih, the real representative of the Christian community, managed to bribe the Turks, and for five months held possession of the see. But the French Ambassador at Constantinople intervened, and the Grand Vizier issued an order that the missionaries’ protégé, Ignatius Peter, should be Patriarch. For twenty years Peter experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, sometimes a patriarch and sometimes an exile. On the conclusion of the war between the Austrian Emperor and the Turks in 1698, the Austrian Ambassador took up the case of Peter, and made his reinstatement a condition of the treaty. This was a fatal step. Peter had been reinstated for a short time only when he was arrested on a charge of being a Frank. The aged Patriarch, his archbishop, and his adherents were bastinadoed, and incarcerated with every circumstance of hardship in the fortress of Adana in Cilicia. The Patriarch, exhausted by the hardships of the journey and by ill-treatment, had scarcely reached the castle when he expired, and his adherents lingered for years in prison. The French Ambassador warned the Pope that any attempt to name a successor before the Porte had issued his *berat* would insure the certain death of the nominee.

The story of the Armenian priest Der Gourmidas is in many respects very similar. I shall only give the concluding scene as related by the French Ambassador at Constantinople, where the scene of Der Gourmidas’ martyrdom is laid. Der Gourmidas is brought before the Grand Vizier, with whom are the Armenian Patriarch Der Joannes and more than three hundred “heretics” to accuse him. The Vizier, with a furious air, asks Der Gourmidas why he has turned Frank. Der Gourmidas replies: “Being a priest I have been obliged to study my religion, and I have found among my Armenian persecutors errors which I cannot adopt.” “What errors?” quoth the Vizier. “Art thou sufficiently learned in the Christian religion,” answers Der Gourmidas, “to decide that question?” The Vizier: “Knowest thou not that I can put thee to death?” “That were a favour,” is Der Gourmidas’ reply.

"But remember that thou canst not lift the sword upon me for a matter of religion, since I do not belong to thine. And if thou pourest out my blood, as thou canst, thou must needs give an account of it before God at the day of judgment." The Vizier arose in wrath, and addressing the Patriarch, Der Joannes, says: "Thou wilt answer for this man's blood." The Patriarch replied, "His blood be on him who arrested him." The Vizier, again seating himself, says to Der Gourmidas, "These men complain that thou hast abandoned their sect to follow another." Der Gourmidas asks, "Which is the better?" to which the Vizier replied, "I consider both equally bad." "What matters it then," answers Der Gourmidas, "in which sect I live." The Vizier then ordered him to execution.

I have given this story in order to show the charge which always hung over every proselyte. For a native Christian to *Frankise* was an act of high treason; he became the adherent of a foreign power, and prepared the way for the ultimate triumph of the West and the expulsion of the faithful. Turkish policy always pursued two objects. It tried to prevent the union of the Christians, and it also tried to keep out all foreign influence. Indeed the Grand Mufti of the Mahomedans at Constantinople was the chief protector of the native Christians against all foreign proselytism. Thus the efforts of the Roman missionaries only added another cause of dissension to churches already torn asunder by their differences.

The dissensions among the Christian churches had always been the bane of oriental Christianity, and was one of the chief causes which contributed to the triumph of the Mohammedans. These dissensions did not cease under the domination of the Infidels; and the Turks found in them endless opportunities for bribery and extortion. But still more fatal was the identification of religion with politics and nationality. Much has been said of the connection between church and state in the West, but the history of the connection between church and state in the East has yet to be written. The Byzantine emperors, the Sassanian monarchs, and the caliphs held the Church in iron bonds. If the Byzantine emperors forcibly imposed orthodoxy on their subjects, the Sassanians and the caliphs favoured the heretics; but all alike agreed in reserving to themselves the power of appointing, or at least confirming, the higher ecclesiastics. The Turks came in no way behind their predecessors. The confirmation of the Porte and of the local governor was required for every Church appointment of importance, and as every appointment was an occasion for a bribe, the authorities were not slow in disturbing the appointments they had made. Turkish misrule, bribery, and

impurity were the chief characteristics of the governing classes according to the reports before us.

Such is the picture of Romish missions to Syria in the seventeenth century. The men were loyal, earnest, and devoted, they laboured without hope of return to Europe, and they were uncomplaining. They lived in perpetual danger of an outburst of popular Mohammedan fury—*avanie*, they called it—or of some act of tyrannical and barbarian caprice. Some good they did, perhaps more harm; but it is their glory that they alone in Christendom brought Christian faith and love to aid the captives, the shepherdless, and the oppressed in the dominions of the Grand Turk.

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*Bushido, the Soul of Japan.* An exposition of Japanese thought.

By Inaso Nitobe, Professor in the Imperial University of Kyoto.

203 pp. Published by Putnam. Price 5s. net.

WE are glad to welcome the tenth revised and enlarged edition of this charming book. It has been translated into several European and one of the Indian languages. The writer's religious position is stated by himself thus, "I believe in the religion taught by Christ and handed down to us in the New Testament, as well as in the law written in the heart. Further, I believe that God hath made a testament which may be called 'old' with every people and nation, Gentile or Jew, Christian or heathen." But though the author writes from a Christian standpoint, he is an enthusiastic believer in the virtues and in the influence of Bushido, nor would it be easy for the least impressionable reader to peruse this book without having learnt to share his belief. We give a single instance of the teaching inculcated by Bushido, according to our author. Politeness requires "that we should weep with those that weep, and rejoice with those that rejoice. Such didactic requirement, when reduced into small everyday details of life, expresses itself in little acts scarcely noticeable, or if noticed, is as one missionary lady, of twenty years' residence, once said to me, 'awfully funny.' You are out in the hot glaring sun with no shade over you: a Japanese acquaintance passes by: you accost him and instantly his hat is off—well, that is perfectly natural, but the awfully funny performance is that, all the while he talks with you his parasol is down, and he stands in the glaring sun also. How foolish! Yes, exactly so, provided the motive were less than this: 'You are in the sun, I sympathise with you: I would willingly take you under my parasol if it were large enough, or if we were familiarly acquainted: as I cannot shade you I will share your discomforts.'" Dr. Nitobe admits towards the end of the book that the best days of Bushido influence are past, and anxiously

discusses its development in the future. He says "the only other ethical system which is powerful enough to cope with utilitarianism and materialism is Christianity, in comparison with which Bushido, it must be confessed, is like a dimly burning wick, which the Messiah was proclaimed not to quench but to fan into a flame." The book ends with the words, "Bushido as an independent code of ethics may vanish, but its power will not perish from the earth; its schools of martial prowess or civic honour may be demolished, but its light and its glory will long survive their ruins. Like its symbolic flower, after it is blown to the four winds it will still bless mankind with the perfume with which it will enrich life." The book should be read by everyone who wants to know the best and noblest side of Japanese life and character. The darker side of the picture is intentionally omitted.

Even as we were engaged in writing this notice a Japanese visitor of literary distinction was announced. On being asked his opinion of the book which lay before us he said, "Do not believe what it says—we are the rudest people on earth." The perfect politeness and the culture of the speaker belied his words; but, as he went on to explain, English people do not do the Japanese good service by over-praising them. With the warning suggested by his words we heartily commend *Bushido, the Soul of Japan* to our readers.

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*Japan, an attempt at Interpretation.* By Lafcadio Hearn. 549 pp.  
Published by Macmillan. Price 8s. 6d. net.

THE writer of this book, who recently died, and was buried at his own request with full Buddhist ritual, was of Irish and Greek parentage, and was married to a Japanese lady. He had lived in Japan since 1890, and professed to be in complete sympathy with the religious sentiments of the Japanese. The title of his first chapter might serve as the keynote to the whole book. He writes of the "strangeness and charm" of Japanese life in beautiful English, and with an enthusiasm which cannot but attract the reader. Though he had himself accepted Buddhism, his remarks on Christian Missions in the Far East are deserving of careful attention. He was not a profound religious thinker, or he could hardly have written such a sentence as this, "from the standpoint of psychological evolution, the evolutionist must of course consider pantheism as an advance upon monotheism, and must further regard agnosticism as an advance upon both." Though we believe that he misinterpreted the motive of many of the Christian missionaries of whom he writes, it is impossible not to sympathise with his statement that "to demand of a Chinese or an Annamese that he cast away or destroy his ancestral tablets, is not less

irrational and inhuman than it would be to demand of an Englishman or a Frenchman that he destroy his mother's tombstone in proof of his devotion to Christianity." The difficulty which the Christian missionary (who is in many cases sadly ill-equipped by his past education for the task) has to solve is how far the ceremonies connected with ancestor cult are idolatrous, and as such inconsistent with the profession of the Christian faith, or how far they are a legitimate expression of the aspirations which the Church recognises in her teaching concerning the departed. We believe that the day will come when the appreciation of the solidarity of the dead and the living, to which ancestor cult witnesses, will help to elucidate the meaning of the statement in our creed, which at present conveys so little meaning to many of us, I believe in the communion of saints.

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*Church Work in Japan.* Compiled by Miss Arnold. With a preface by Bishop Awdry. 298 pp. Published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS contains a carefully compiled account of the missionary work which has been done by the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. together, with some account of the work of the American and Canadian Churches. The book is being issued simultaneously in America, and was written at the request of Churchmen in America, who desired to have a comprehensive account of what was being done by the Anglican Church in Japan. It is illustrated and supplied with a useful index.

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*Mohammed and the Rise of Islam.* By D. S. Margoliouth. "Heroes of the Nations" series. 481 pp. Published by Putnam. Price 5s.

ALL students of Mohammedanism will welcome this new life of the Prophet, which has been written by the Professor of Arabic at Oxford. It will probably take its place as the standard life in the English language. The necessity for diffusing popular information in regard to the date as well as the work of Mohammed may be illustrated by a quotation from an article in the financial newspaper *The Rialto* for November 8. The subject of the article is, "The Meddlesome Missionary." The writer says "The Buddhist and the Mohammedan are surely entitled to their own opinions, and let us not forget that *their religions are much older than our own*. Why do we try to alter the beliefs . . . that were in the world long before Christianity was ever dreamt of?" It is little wonder that the average member of the Stock Exchange is not a supporter of Missions if the writers of his newspapers are ignorant enough to imagine that Islam is a pre-Christian religion. One of the most

disputed points in the Mohammedan controversy has always been whether Mohammed honestly believed in his own revelations. Professor Margoliouth throws a certain amount of light upon this question by comparing the revelations which Mohammed declared himself to have received with the revelations of some modern spiritualists and with the revelations of the founder of Mormonism. The Book of Mormon, which was produced under conditions strikingly similar to those attending the writing of the Koran, went through thirty-four editions in as many years, and is still believed by many to be a divine revelation. The present work is written in a style sufficiently popular to appeal to the general public, and at the same time contains profuse references to the original Arabic documents from which the writer has obtained his information. We are glad to have the opportunity of recommending it.

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*The Muslim Controversy.* Being a review of Christian literature written in the Urdu language for the propagation of the Christian religion and the refutation of Islam. By the Rev. E. M. Wherry, D.D. 135 pp. Published by the Christian Literature Society, London and Madras.

THE object of this book is to enable persons who do not know Urdu to discover for themselves not only the titles but the contents of all the principal books and tracts which are available for distribution in India and which deal with the controversy between Christianity and Mohammedanism. The book should be of great use to missionaries and to all who wish to distribute Christian literature amongst Mohammedans. A large portion of the literature is written by converts to Christianity from Mohammedanism.

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*The Moslem Doctrine of God.* An essay on the character and attributes of Allah according to the Koran and orthodox tradition. By S. M. Zwemer. 120 pp. Published by Oliphant. Price 3s. 6d.

READERS of the article on Islam in Arabia, which appeared in the last number of THE EAST AND THE WEST, will be ready to extend a welcome to a book by one who has lived in such close intercourse with Mohammedans in the land from which Islam sprang. This book does what, so far as we know, has not before been attempted in English. The author, moreover, has succeeded in making his book not only instructive but interesting. Even the reader who takes little interest in religions other than his own will find that this book will help him to understand better some of the dogmas of his own faith. Mohammed's conception of a God in whom the attributes of sympathy and love are wanting seems to us singularly



unattractive ; but as we study the Koran it becomes hard to imagine how to one who rejected the Christian doctrine of the Trinity it could ever have seemed possible to believe in a God of love and sympathy. It would be almost true to say that Islam by the necessary limitations of its theology offers the strongest existing justification for the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. The book is one which no careful student of Islam will be able to do without.

*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia.* From the Moslem conquest to the time of Timur.  
By G. LE STRANGE. 536 pp. Published by the Cambridge University Press. Price 15s.

THE author states that his object has been to gather together the geographical information scattered through the works of the mediæval Arab, Persian, and Turkish geographers, who have described Mesopotamia and Persia with the nearer parts of Central Asia, with the view to promoting a more correct understanding of Moslem history. The work is extremely well done, and should be of great assistance to future historians who deal with the establishment of Islam in the countries named. The difficulties of investigating the history and geography of some of these districts, *e.g.*, of the two kingdoms of Little Armenia and Great Armenia, are aggravated by the unwillingness on the part of the Turkish Government to admit that such names ever existed. When starting on a journey through part of Armenia we took charge of an Armenian history for an Armenian who assured us that if the Turks found this book on him he would be liable to be imprisoned for seven years. The Turkish authorities fear lest the admission that a kingdom of Armenia ever existed should encourage an attempt to re-establish it. The description of the comparatively fertile condition of Mesopotamia and of the districts of the Upper Euphrates tends to show that it is not so much Islam as the modern representatives of Islam which are responsible for the retrogression which has taken place. When we had occasion to cross the Upper Euphrates, we found that no bridge existed for more than 500 miles along its bank, and were driven to cross in a piano-case, which was propelled by sticks with the bark still on, the use of oars having apparently been forgotten. If we can judge from the work before us, the retrogression from the civilisation which existed in the Roman times, or even in still earlier periods, did not occur until the Moslems had long occupied these territories. If then the present representatives of Islam could be removed it is not impossible to hope that a large measure of prosperity might be restored even under Mohammedan rule. Gratitude is due to the Cambridge Press for publishing a book

which cannot from the nature of its subject obtain a very large circulation, but which will be of great use to the accurate student of mediæval Moslem geography. It is a book which libraries containing books on Mohammedan history ought to obtain.

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*Studies in the Faiths.* 1. Buddhism. 2. Islam. By Annie Small. Published by Dent. Price 1s. each.

THESE little books are got up in the elegant style with which readers of Dent's books are familiar. If the publishers contemplate continuing the series we venture to suggest that the very limited space which these booklets contain should be exclusively devoted to the subject of which they nominally treat. A large proportion of these are devoted to discussing Christian and not Buddhist or Mohammedan doctrines. The books contain some interesting thoughts. They contain some annoying mistakes in spelling—*e.g.* al-present, al-governing, al-knowing, bigotted.

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*Round about my Peking garden.* By Mrs. Archibald Little. 284 pp. Published by Fisher Unwin. Price 15s.

MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE is well known as the writer of novels and of many clever and interesting sketches of Chinese life. The present volume, which is beautifully illustrated throughout, consists of a series of sketches of scenes which the writer witnessed in China, and specially in Peking, between the siege of Peking and the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia. They are written in a very pleasant style, and contain a good deal of incidental information on various topics relating to the Chinese and their ways. She speaks with some contempt of the missionary critics, who eagerly swallowed untrue reports in regard to what happened after the siege of Peking. "The world," she says, "set to work to criticise and scoff, 'See how these Christians loot!' whilst they, poor people, were counting up the empty places in their band, mourning their martyrs and their ruined churches. 'It took me years to get the money to build it. I watched over every stone myself,' said one good man, then paused and pointed to his well. 'Yes, it is choked—I had to have it sanded up first thing. There were eight of our people thrown down it, and the smell was too dreadful when I first came here. When we dare, I hope to uncover it and get the bones out and give them Christian burial. There are four more dead about the premises.'"

After describing the enormous amount of money spent annually by the Chinese on their temples and on burning paper money for the dead, she says: "They are not a people who do not make sacrifices for their faith now, and their religion is bound up with all the

events of their life, as ours, alas, is not. Where in England shall we find a club with a chapel? Where in China a club-house without one?"

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*The Anglican Church in Corea.* Being documents, original and translated, issued by authority during the Episcopate of the first bishop of the Church of England in Corea, between 1889 and 1905, together with an introduction by the Right Reverend C. J. Corfe. 55 pp. Printed at Seoul.

THIS book consists of pastoral letters and memoranda, addressed by the bishop to his clergy dealing with such subjects as the diocesan use for the celebration of the Holy Communion, Office for the admission of catechumens, Church discipline, the Book of Common Prayer, and liturgical translation. The Bishop has added an interesting preface which gives a sketch of the starting of the Corean Mission and of the principles by which it has been guided. We give one extract from it which will be of interest to all connected with Missions in the Far East. "The question has often been asked if it would not be wise to facilitate the work of the Mission by in some way or other recognizing the prevailing worship of ancestors. All the members of the Mission arrived in Corea with an open mind on the subject, feeling that if there were nothing really idolatrous in the worship, nothing in the Corean practices beyond old customs evacuated of all serious meaning, every effort should be made not to regard ancestral worship as a bar to accepting the Christian religion." The Bishop goes on, however, to say that to do this has proved impossible. Later on he says: "A very beautiful custom has grown up of visiting the graves each year on Easter Monday, when the Christians from all our stations, some of which are as much as ten miles distant, assemble at the Mission cemetery outside the city and, headed by the clergy, hold a service." The book will be of great value to those who come after, as containing an authorised record of the early fortunes of this Mission.

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*Theosophy and Christianity.* By the Rev. E. R. Hull, S.J. 127 pp. Published by the Catholic Truth Society, London. Price 1s.

THIS little book should prove of use to those who from time to time are confronted with the specious arguments of so-called English Theosophists. The chapters on the problem of evil and on Karma are specially good. In dealing with the plea of the Theosophist that the doctrine of Karma affords an intelligible explanation of the inequalities and miseries of life, the writer says: "To enforce this point, let us take a supposed case which everyone will allow true to life. 'A' is born under the most favourable

conditions, morally, mentally, and circumstantially. He lives up to a high standard of virtue. You would say the Karma had fixed this connatal condition out of the results of former lives, and that the life of virtue which follows ought to confirm the well-being of the man. Yet in middle age he accidentally cripples himself or contracts cancer, and passes years in acute suffering, to die at last in the greatest misery. How does the Theosophist explain such a case? We can think of three expedients:

Either (1) the Karma settlement at birth was delusive, his punishment was suspended for forty-five years, and then was unexpectedly visited upon him. For half his life he has enjoyed all the pledges of possessing a good balance of virtue and reward for his past career, and is now disappointed to find that after all his true Karmic reckoning had been postponed.

Or (2) whatever we may fancy about the virtuousness of his life, the punishment falling on him in middle age he had really brought upon himself by secret sins. In that case we can always regard a misfortune in life as a sign of actual wickedness. This is a thesis which no one can reasonably maintain.

Or (3) the misfortune falling on him is really a blessing in disguise, which affords him an opportunity for patience and heroism, and which will be rewarded in the next life. This is the Christian answer, and one which, if accepted by the Theosophist, involves the giving up of Karma as an intelligible explanation in any sense which the Christian theory cannot also claim."

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*Outlines of Missionary Lessons, including a series of lessons introductory to the Study of Missions and Sketches of Mission Work in the Colonies and amongst the Heathen.* 208 pp. Published by the S.P.G. Price 1s.

THESE Lessons have been prepared in response to numerous requests from teachers who desired to adopt a regular scheme of missionary teaching extending over a year or the greater part of a year. Except in dealing with older children, the teacher will often find the lesson too long to give on a single occasion; but the lessons have been written so as to allow of a selection of material according to the capabilities of the scholars. They deal not only with missionary work amongst the heathen, but with work amongst English colonists in different parts of the world. The first nine lessons are intended as a general introduction to the study of modern Missions.

Although these lessons have been prepared for the S.P.G. the greater part of them deal with Missions generally, and would be of use to the supporters of other societies. The very large sale

which the lessons have already obtained when sold separately renders it probable that the book in its present complete form will prove of great use.

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*Notes on India for Missionary Students.* By Eugene Stock.  
112 pp. Published by the Church Missionary Society.  
Price 1s.

IT is stated in the preface that these notes have been put together for the use of missionary study classes in connexion with the Church Missionary Society. They are extremely well "put together," and will be of use to all students of Christian Missions in India. They might also serve to suggest how lessons on other missions and other countries could usefully be compiled. The titles of the chapters are: The country, the races, the language—The people and their homes—Sketch of Indian history—The religions of India—Christianity in India—Evangelistic agencies—Pastoral work—Women's work—Results of Missions. There are three appendices: on Roman Catholic Missions; Some books for students; and a chronological table.

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*Sweeps and Bridge.* Two Sermons preached by the Bishop of Lahore at Simla. Printed at the Cawnpore Mission Press.

THESE two sermons, the first on gambling, the second on card-playing for money, deal with the questions to which they refer in an eminently reasonable spirit. None could take offence at the attitude with which the Bishop approaches the questions, and few could read the addresses without being affected by the arguments employed. Anyone who has to give an address on either of these subjects could not do better than order a copy of this pamphlet.

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*Sketches of Kafir Life.* By Godfrey Callaway, Mission priest at St. Cuthbert's, with a Preface by Bishop Gibson, Coadjutor-Bishop of Capetown. 154 pp. Published by Mowbray.  
Price 2s. 6d. net.

THE two names attached to this book led us to expect that these sketches of native life would be of more than usual interest, and our expectation has been fully justified. The book gives a better idea of native life in South Africa than any which has been published for a long time past. We gladly endorse the words of the preface written by Bishop Gibson, who has himself spent twenty-three years in South Africa, "I do not know of any other book that has so truly caught the spirit of Kafir life. As you read you are conscious that the atmosphere of the veldt is all about you, and the wonderful spell that South African life exercises is upon you. As we read the chapter entitled "The Trader's

Store," we could almost imagine that we had witnessed the incidents which are described. The words at the close of this chapter are of special interest, and should serve to dissipate the impression that the European traders in Africa are in all cases a hindrance to missionary work. Mr. Callaway writes : " If Christ were acknowledged in word and life in every trader's store the results would be immeasurable. I am thankful to say in spite of many failures (and missionaries fail as well as traders), there is much to be thankful for. When one trader sits up night after night with a dying Christian native ; when another supports a boy at the mission school, who could not otherwise be supported ; when another works with his own hands to build the native church—with evidences such as these, who will say that trade is altogether in the opposite camp to missionary enterprise ? " The book is well illustrated, and deserves to obtain a very wide circulation.

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*A World without a Child.* By Coulson Kernahan. Published by Hodder and Stoughton. Price 1s.

ALTHOUGH this little book contains no reference to foreign Missions, the teaching which it is written to convey has a direct bearing upon the future influence of Christianity in heathen lands. The book begins with an imaginary description of London a hundred years hence. A great change has come over the city, poverty has vanished and comfort and luxury have become universal. But as a judgment from heaven on a generation which had ceased to desire and to love little children no child has been born for thirty years, and the population is dwindling to extinction, while the heathen races from beyond the seas are in the act of invading England. The story culminates in a scene described with marvellous dramatic effect, in and outside St. Paul's Cathedral, where a great service of humiliation and supplication is being held. " Under the dome a space has been cleared, in the middle of which a solitary man was kneeling in prayer, surrounded on every side by a vast congregation of men. ' Weighty are the words of the dying,' he said, ' wherefore, Lord God, we ask Thee to give ear. Already we are a dying race, our very existence menaced among the nations. For thirty years no child has been born to us. . . . They whom we despised as heathen and uncivilised now hold Christendom and civilisation in thrall. . . . Take back the curse which Thou hast laid upon us. Give us but one sign that Thou hast heard and pardoned, and we will go forth in Thy strength to do battle with our enemies and to overcome ; but hear us, and haste Thee, for even now the heathen are at our gates ! ' " The book represents the most beautiful, chaste, and suggestive contribution which has been made towards the discussion of the question

raised by the decreasing birth rate in England at the present time. We have room for but one more quotation, but we hope that all our readers will try to read the book for themselves. An old man in the story thus describes the coming of each little child into the world, "Ere that child came to earth, God stooped to take into His arms the tiny image of Himself, to breathe between the little lips the breath of His own life, to set upon the baby brow the kiss of which dreaming children think when suddenly they smile in their sleep. Then with infinite tenderness He laid the little flower-like form in the hands of an angel, kneeling to receive the precious burden.

"Out of God's hands, and the hands of God's angels in heaven, thou shalt pass into the care of God's angels on earth. Thou shalt enter the world speeded of God, and tended by the hands of God's dear women, even as when thou leavest it, God's dear women shall tend thee to the last, and God and His Son, Thy Saviour, shall wait to welcome thy return. Go forth, little one, and may thy coming make glad the hearts of women and men, for I have sent thee, I am with thee. Go!"

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*Tales from Jungle, City and Village.* By Lucy Tonge. Illustrated. 160 pp. Published by the Religious Tract Society. Price 1s. 6d.

A BOOK intended to be read by little children and written in the hope of interesting them in missionary work. Its illustrations are very poor.

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*River, Sand and Sun ; being sketches of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission.* By M. C. Gollock. 184 pp. Published by the Church Missionary Society. Price 3s. 6d.

A WELL written and well illustrated account of the C.M.S. work which is being carried on amongst several different nationalities in Egypt.

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*Lord Curzon's Administration of India : what he promised, what he performed.* By Syed Sirdar Ali Khan. Printed at the Times Press, Bombay.

THIS is a very appreciative examination of the work accomplished by Lord Curzon in India. The author, who is a Mohammedan, says in his preface that in view of the accusations which had been made in certain native newspapers that the late Viceroy was wanting in sympathy for the people, he felt himself constrained to publish an expression of what he believes to be the feelings of the great majority of the people of India.

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Bound volumes of THE EAST AND THE WEST for 1905, price 4s. 6d., to be obtained through any bookseller, or post free from the S.P.G. Office, 4s. 11d.

# The East and The West

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APRIL 1906

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## CHRISTIAN COMITY IN THE MISSION-FIELD.

WHEN travelling in a heathen land what a glorious thing it is to meet a "child of God!" The missionary does not ask to what denomination he or she belongs, whether they are superstitious or not; he recognises one who has been made a "member of Christ," and if he reflects on the matter, he comes to see how superficial after all are the schisms with which the devil has marred the fair face of the bride of Christ.

The missionary is permitted to learn from Nature a parable which illustrates the present state of the Church. In the dry season, as he walks over the thirsty ground, he sees that there are cracks and rents (schisms, in fact) caused by the absence of that moisture which the ground requires to make it fertile. But follow down each of the apparently separated portions of the ground, and you will find that each several one is connected with the still moist subsoil; each has, so to speak, communion with Mother Earth, and through Mother Earth they all have communion with one another.

It will not mend matters if we break off a piece from one of the separated portions at the surface, and add it to

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**NOTE.**—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.



another ; on the contrary, we run the risk of separating that piece entirely from the subsoil and leaving it to be blown away by the wind. One thing is required, and that one thing alone will make the separated parts of the surface one—there must be an outpouring of the moisture of the rain of heaven. Go to the same place after the rain has fallen, and you will find all the cracks obliterated, and the ground will present once more an unbroken surface.

So it is with the Church of Christ ; and so it will be when there comes the great outpouring of the grace of God for which we are all praying. There is but one Church, united to Christ, and in Him all the baptized are united by a spiritual union. On the surface there are divisions which we cannot ignore, but in a heathen land the spiritual union is manifest far more clearly than it can be amid the strife of denominations.

After a time the missionary learns to recognise almost at sight the difference between a Christian and one who is not so as yet. There is something about a convert which it is impossible to define, and which must be seen to be appreciated.

But even before he has learned this, the young missionary will have learned what it is to shake hands with another missionary, and to have joined in family prayer with one who knows what prayer means. Very possibly in the fulness of his heart he had written home to those who had "sent" him, and told them of this spiritual refreshment which he had found in the midst of a weary land.

After a month or two the reply to his letter arrived : "We are astonished that you should so far set all ecclesiastical rules at defiance as to attend a dissenting service."

Before that letter arrived he had visited another place, where he found a Roman Catholic church, and to his unspeakable joy he had been able to attend a public liturgical service. The music was execrable, and there was much to be desired in the reverence of the servers, but it was a public liturgical service such as he could understand. He had written home about that too ; but after the receipt of the last letter he waits anxiously for the reply. At last it comes :

"If you persist in attending Roman Catholic services, you need not look for any further support from us."

The missionary recalls the familiar words, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another," and wonders.

Who are these with whom he is forbidden to hold any intercourse? They are "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven," for they have all been baptized; and here he finds that he and they are the sole representatives of the Master in a heathen land.

Why are we not all Church-people? He will investigate the matter. He gets the opportunity of talking to a Roman Catholic priest, an excellent man, but with no education beyond what he got in the seminary. He finds that he was taught that the God whom the English worship was "invented by a certain king named Henry;" and that other protestants worship "a God invented by Voltaire."<sup>1</sup> Under the circumstances it is not surprising that he feels it his duty to oppose us in every possible way.

He makes the acquaintance of another missionary, and finds that his history was as follows. He was born near a country town in America, where there was a presbyterian church, a methodist church, and a congregational church; but where the protestant episcopal church was entirely unrepresented. He was taken as a boy to the congregational church; and after a time heard the missionary vocation, "Come over and help us." He saved up his money, and went to a congregationalist college, earning money during his course by accepting the post of caretaker and pew-opener in one of the chapels in the town. When his course was ended, he was accepted as a missionary and sent to Africa *via* London. The very first Church service he ever attended was in St. Paul's Cathedral on his way out to the mission-field, and the first time he ever spoke to a priest of the Church was after he had been working as a missionary for some twelve years.

The missionary asks himself what the position of that man is. He has learnt all that he has had the opportunity of learning of the Catholic faith; he has been made a

<sup>1</sup> This is an actual fact; these words were spoken to the writer.

member of Christ, and has never separated himself from Him. Owing to circumstances he has learnt fully to understand only the first eight articles of the Creed and the last two ; but he is consumed with a zeal which is lacking in many who have been taught the whole Catholic faith, and comes here to teach the poor heathen that which he knows, and to hand on to them the blessings which he has himself received. The answer seems to be that this man is an embryo-catholic. He has never rejected any truth of the Faith which he has been taught, and he has not cut himself off from Christ.

He comes across another man, who is much more prejudiced against the Church ; he tries to find out why. It appears that he was born in Ireland, and was baptized in the Church ; in due course, although he was living "without God in the world," he was confirmed, because it was the proper thing to be "done." He never became a communicant. After a time, in America, God made use of a mission conducted by some earnest Christians who were not Church-people to awaken him to a sense of sin ; and subsequently he felt the call to come to hand on to the Africans the good things which he had himself received.

Others were born in presbyterian families, others were lutherans, or baptists, when they heard the call, and came.

Now what are all these men doing ?

They are making Christians by baptizing men into Christ, and are teaching them so much of the Catholic faith as they had themselves been taught when God's call came. The Divine Spirit which is making use of them manifests Himself in their converts.

We have seen above what the attitude of some Church-people is towards these men ; what ought to be the attitude of the missionary ? He investigates matters, and finds that all these men have been made members of Christ, and are making others members of Christ too. They are handing on to them as they are able to receive it all that they have themselves received ; and when he comes to investigate their teaching, he finds that all the Christian missionaries whom he comes across accept and teach all

the truths stated in the Athanasian creed. When he comes to the Nicene and Apostles' creeds, he finds that all teach the first eight and the last two articles of the creed just as he would teach them himself. He finds that they all believe in the ministration of angels; that they all accept the Old and New Testaments; that they all preach conversion, and repentance.

He finds that none of these good men claim to possess any power to which he has no right; there is not one (with the exception of the Scandinavians, who are said by some to have retained the Episcopate at the Reformation) who claims the power to confirm, or absolve, or that, when they give the bread and wine they give more than mere bread and wine; in other words, their ordinance is what we should call a love-feast. They claim to pray, and they can do it in a way that puts some of us to shame, more especially when they join fasting with their prayer; they claim to preach and teach, and it is evident that God makes use of their ministry. If they claimed the priesthood, it would be different, but they do not. What then should be the missionary's attitude towards them?

Surely the true position for him to adopt is to accept them as being what they claim to be, and are—members of Christ by baptism, good men, with spiritual power, consumed with love for souls, made use of by the Holy Spirit to hand on to others the blessings which they have themselves received, and to bring them into vital union with Christ. They do not as yet desire more for themselves, and therefore of course do not lead their converts to desire more.

It is not for us to try to force blessings on people who do not desire them—Christ himself warns us against it; we have to try and get people to wish for things which we can provide, and to give them when desired, but not before. And then the missionary remembers the familiar words, "from whom all holy desires. . .do proceed," and he thinks once more of the thirsty ground, and he realises that when the great outpouring of grace takes place, men will not be satisfied with anything less than all the means of grace, and so the unity of Christendom will be once more brought about.

After a time the missionary finds himself with his own little circle of converts: he has chapels, and schools, and a small community of Christians. A new family of Christians arrives to settle in that neighbourhood, and in all probability begins attending his church. They have arrived with letters from some nonconformist missionary, under whose care they have been, commending them to the missionary living nearest to their new home. He finds on inquiry that they are full of affection for the man who was the instrument of their conversion, and do not wish in any way to cut themselves off from him. They find in the Church all that they have learnt to desire for their spiritual growth, with one exception—they miss the “communion” of their former home. The communion which they desire is not the Holy Eucharist; they have never been taught about that, nor about confirmation, or absolution; the communion of which they speak is what we should call a “love-feast.” What should the missionary do? Should he try to proselytise, and get them to accept confirmation, not because they feel the want of it, but simply as a stepping-stone to our “communion” (which they misunderstand, and do not really desire)? It seems such a splendid opportunity of gaining an accession of strength to the Church, and would so delight the hearts of some of his supporters at home. A man who is working for his sect, rather than for Christ, and who thinks primarily of his supporters, will be strongly tempted to proselytise. It is often a sore trial to the missionary to decide what he ought to do. He knows what is expected of him, and he wonders if he would be right in following the example of those most energetic missionaries, the Pharisees, of whom we read that they compassed sea and land to make one proselyte; but he remembers that for all their zeal they merited one of the Saviour’s most awful condemnations “Woe unto you.”

Finally he thinks of Christ at the well of Samaria. Did He call those Samaritans to leave the church of their fathers, which was in schism, and to join the church of the chosen people? No; He waited for the coming of the Holy Ghost to heal the schism, and those multitudes baptized by Philip were the result.

Yes ; he, the missionary, will follow in Christ's footsteps, and wait ; perhaps the Spirit may call these individuals to desire greater blessings soon ; perhaps he may have to wait until the time comes when all the Africans will form one church in full communion with the Catholic Church. He will wait, in spite of what others may say.

Meanwhile, what can he do for these poor people without proselytising ? The only thing they miss is an ordinance recognised in the Church, but unfortunately allowed to drop in the Church of England. They still have the *Pain Bénin* in France ; the *Antidoron* is still a regular institution in the Eastern Churches ; and the same thing under different names is still in use elsewhere. Would he be justified in asking his bishop for permission to restore it ?

With this one exception, the Church of England can offer all that any other denomination can offer, and more besides. We have the open Bible, and no one who knows what the Bible is to our Africans would wish to close it. We sing psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs in the language which the people love, for it is their own. We have extempore prayer. We have the power of preaching. Besides all these, we have a grand liturgical service in the vernacular, and we have that most precious of all the gifts of God, the sacramental system.

We cannot consent to join with the other missionaries in working on undenominational lines, because that would mean giving up the teaching of the articles of the Catholic faith concerning the Church, and the forgiveness of sins, which we dare not do ; for the Catholic faith is unalterable. It would also mean giving up the sacramental system, of which, from personal experience, as well as from the teaching received from our fathers, we know the spiritual value. We cannot consent to hand on to our people less than we have ourselves received.

Is there any way of working in harmony with these good men ? The missionary thinks of our Lord's words, " Let him alone ; for he that is not against us, is for us." It is not for him to interfere with the work of the Holy Spirit.

He would therefore lay down certain principles :

(1) No proselyte is to be accepted unless it is clear that the Holy Spirit has called that individual to desire what he could not get in the denomination of his baptism.

Real conversion is *always* the work of the Spirit; all other conversions come under the same class as the proselytism of the Pharisees.

The work of the missionary is not to convert anybody; he only gives him the preparation, which will teach him where to turn when the Holy Spirit calls him.

(2) It is possible that the Holy Spirit may, for the sins of Church-people, call men to leave the Church, as He sometimes calls them to leave other denominations. The proper attitude for the missionary to adopt under such sad circumstances is that of penitence and self-chastisement for his own sins and the sins of his people, not that of anger and denunciation.

(3) It is the duty of every missionary to help in every possible way, but without proselytising, any Christians whom he may be able to assist on their way to Heaven, whether they belong to his own denomination or not.

It often happens that on our journeys we come across a solitary Christian living in the midst of heathen surroundings, baptized very probably in Johannesburg—possibly a Wesleyan, or a Congregationalist, or a Roman Catholic. (The writer may be allowed to mention a complaint which was once made to him by a Scotchman who had been engaged on one of the river steamers. A missionary party was on board; on Sunday the chief missionary took his party, and such Christian natives as there were on shore, and there had service, without giving any of the officers or crew a chance of being present, because they were supposed to be Presbyterians.)

(4) The missionary should never willingly allow any Christian of another denomination to break any of the rules of that denomination, so long as he belongs to it.

For example, he should never allow a Free Methodist to use tobacco in any form, or a Roman Catholic to break the rule about fasting on the Wednesdays in Advent, or a member of the Dutch Reformed Church to be married until he has performed what is equivalent to the ceremony of "Annehmung."

When we come to the very important matter of teaching, we have to ask "Is there any method of working in harmony?"

There is the proposed undenominational method, but for reasons stated above, the missionary cannot consider that that would be pleasing to Christ. That some method of ensuring that all our people should have the same form of sound words, and that the form should be put out by men with some theological training, as well as a knowledge of the native languages, is obvious. This is well illustrated by the following circumstance which actually occurred to the writer. He was visiting a most successful missionary, and in the course of conversation he asked, "What word do you use for the Persons of the Blessed Trinity?" The answer was, "The only word for Person is ——" (the word which in the language of these parts denotes a human being, a man). So, if this good missionary ever got so far as to teach the mystery of the Trinity to his people, he was teaching them that in the Godhead there are three men. Probably, as a matter of fact, he never got so far; for his policy was, as soon as he had seen the awakening of conscience, to exhort his converts to learn to read, so that they might read the Bible for themselves.

The following extract from a paper read at a General Conference of Missionaries of various denominations in 1904 suggests a line which commends itself to the missionary:

"That they all may be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one; that the world may know that thou didst send Me, and lovest them, even as thou lovest me.

"And yet it is necessary to speak about 'Comity in the Mission-field.' Yes; because of our sins that prayer of our Blessed Master still waits for its fulfilment. We are, of course, all joining with Him in this prayer, and we know that it will be answered; but that cannot be just yet, for there are still among us some who hate what they call error more than they love the truth; and there are some who will not remember that many



things are true which are not part of the Faith once delivered to the saints, and that it is quite possible for God's children to differ among themselves, and argue about these matters, without being untrue to the revelation which has been made to us in Christ.

"*In necessariis unitas ; in dubiis libertas ; in omnibus caritas.* 'In things necessary, unity ; in things doubtful, liberty ; in all things charity.' That is a brief summary of the conditions which are absolutely necessary before the reunion of Christendom can be obtained. That our Lord's prayer will be answered we cannot doubt ; but I hardly think it can be until we are all ready to accept those conditions.

"*In omnibus caritas* : 'It is not the differences between Christians which perplex non-Christians—they are well accustomed to differ in deep things themselves. No ; it is the spirit in which we differ that matters' ; so I read in the *Mission Field* not long ago. To that statement I am sure that we shall all in our hearts say 'Amen.' There is no need to enlarge further on this topic.

"*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas* : here is the great difficulty. Christians are not agreed as to which things are necessary and which are not. I suppose we should all agree so far, that those things are necessary which have been revealed by the Holy Ghost, and those things only. We will return to this later.

"We, the Christian missionaries at present working in South Africa, are, thank God, very largely in agreement ; we are all teaching exactly the same up to a certain point.

"We all accept the Catholic faith as to the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. We all worship, and teach our people to worship, One God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity ; neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance. We all believe that there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost, but that the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal. The Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God. And yet there are not three Gods, but One God. The Father is made of none ; neither created nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone ; not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son ; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. And in this Trinity none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another ; but the whole Three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

"We all accept the doctrine of the incarnation. We all believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man ; God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds ; and Man, of the substance of his Mother, born in the

world ; perfect God, and perfect man ; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting ; equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood. Who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not Two, but One Christ.

" We all believe the truth of the Gospel story of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of the Lord ; and that He will come again to judge the living and the dead.

" We all believe in the work of the Holy Ghost ; and I am sure I may say that we all have personal experience of His work in our own lives, and in the lives of our converts.

" We all recognise the ministry of angels, and the power of evil spirits.

" We all believe that man was created in the Image of God, and that he fell ; and we all recognise the necessity of reconciliation with God, and that that was effected by the atonement ; and that the necessary conditions on man's part, if he would partake of the benefits of Christ's death, are repentance or conversion and faith.

" We all recognise the duty of obedience to God's will, and acknowledge that the Ten Commandments, as interpreted in the Sermon on the Mount, are the most convenient summary of that Law to teach our people.

" We all believe in the necessity and efficacy of prayer. We all believe in the resurrection of the body, and everlasting life after death.

" We all accept the Bible as God's Book, though we may differ in the interpretation of certain parts of it.

" We differ, however, as to the organisation of the Church on earth, some of us hold that that organisation was definitely settled at the first by divine providence, and so must be retained ; others think that it is a matter of little importance.

" We differ as to the means used by Almighty God to make men partakers of the benefits of Christ's Passion, and as to the position which Sacraments ought to hold in the Christian religion.

" We differ as to the conditions of life beyond the grave, and as to the possibility of holding intercourse with the departed, and the lawfulness of praying for them and asking for their prayers.

" We differ, and this is the point which most strikes outsiders, in our conception of worship, and the sanctity of things and places set apart for the worship of God.

" We differ also in certain matters of Church discipline, and other less important things.

" Here in this land we are face to face with a great mass of heathenism and indifference ; we missionaries are trying, and, thank God, are trying successfully to some extent, to persuade those who are held in that bondage by Satan, to accept the truth which

alone can make them free, or, at least, so much of it as they are capable of assimilating, and we are capable of imparting to them.

"The differences which separate us from one another are as nothing compared with that which separates us from them. Why should we not consent to sink our differences and to preach only that which we all hold in common ?

"I reply, because of *two* very good reasons.

"In the first place, he would be a very poor missionary who consented to keep back from his people anything which he had found useful in his own spiritual life ; for example, to take myself as an illustration, I most certainly, unless I was deceived by Satan, received the Holy Ghost when hands were laid on me in confirmation and ordination ; of course I assume that I was not deceived, whatever others may think about it. Now can I consent to withhold from my converts that knowledge of the receipt of a most blessed gift and the means whereby I believe that I received it ? Most assuredly not. Therefore I could never consent to omit Confirmation from my teaching.

"The other day I was travelling in Zululand in a postcart together with a Scandinavian missionary. In the course of conversation he began to talk about the Salvation Army, which had just begun work near him. He said that they were excellent people, but he could not understand their attitude with reference to the Holy Communion. 'To me,' he said, 'what I take and eat is the Body and Blood of Christ, but I don't think it can be to them, otherwise they would not behave as they do.' In other words, his experience differed from theirs.

"On such matters then, matters of personal experience, we must be content to differ, and, not only to differ, but also to recognise our differences as legitimate in our present state of imperfection.

"In the second place, we are missionaries ; we did not come here as independent units—we were sent by a body of Christians elsewhere, and we have a duty of loyalty to the denomination which sent us. I believe I am right in saying that one of the fundamental principles of presbyterianism, for example, is the authority of presbyters or elders ; a fundamental principle of congregationalism is the independence of congregations, and certainly some presbyterians and some congregationalists of my acquaintance hold that theirs was the divinely appointed constitution of the Church, just as firmly as I hold that episcopacy is of divine institution. No episcopalian missionary would, in my opinion, be justified in withholding from his people the episcopalian principle of the church which had sent him ; and I should feel nothing but contempt for the episcopalian, presbyterian, or congregationalist who consented to act as a missionary sent by a body of such believers, who was

not true to his colours: such things may be of greater or less importance, but, as long as they remain, we have no right to treat them as non-existent. There is such a thing as proportion in holy things, and of course we must be on our guard against giving undue prominence to lesser things, because they happen at the moment to be matters of controversy; but we cannot, we ought not to ignore them altogether.

"What, then, are we to do in order that we may present a united Christianity, as far as may be, to the common enemy? The only way that commends itself to me is to RECOGNISE OUR DIFFERENCES AND MAKE ALLOWANCE FOR THEM. The body of truth which we all hold in common is far, far larger than all the points on which we differ put together; but the differences are there, and they have their importance.

"My proposal is briefly this: let all our catechisms and books of instruction consist of two parts; let us only put into Part I. those truths about which we are all agreed, so that all denominations may have the same book, and so use exactly the same form of sound words in teaching on those subjects; and let each denomination have its own Part II.

"To illustrate my meaning, I have had our larger diocesan catechism translated into English in its two parts. I hope that in Part I. there is nothing that any missionary could object to. We should not all use precisely the same expressions, and there are in it some things which some would, perhaps, not consider it necessary to teach their people; but we teach them, and they are facts, as to which I suppose missionaries cannot keep their people altogether in ignorance. In future editions I should be glad to transfer to Part II. anything that seems objectionable to any missionaries. A congregationalist who agrees with me in this matter, and with whom I discussed the subject, said: 'Be sure you make Part I. as large as possible.'

"I have removed bodily to Part II. all teaching about the Church, the Sacraments, and certain other things which might more naturally be expected in Part I., because I feel very strongly the immorality of using words in a document of this sort which will be interpreted in one way by one man and in another way by another; it will be far better that we each state clearly in our teaching what we want to say about these matters. Immorality is a strong word, but I use it deliberately, for such a method seems to me, though I know many approve of it, to be using an equivocation, or, in plain English, a lie, and in my ethics it is not true that the end justifies the means.

"I do not present these books as perfect, far from it, but they are the books which at present we find sufficient for our purpose in my own diocese. I went there with the Zululand diocesan

contrary, that many of them contain elements due to Christianity, and that it is our duty to foster and purify these elements rather than to destroy them.

Our first question is how Christianity got to India before St. Francis Xavier's time. The average Englishman looks upon India as a land which hardly existed as a country before the English discovered it and civilised it by means of their commerce, their armies, and their Christianity. Really, India was a great civilised empire when our British ancestors were naked savages. It had mighty emperors, ruling in great cities and striving too, to rule justly. It had large universities filled with learned men and students, where the most abstruse subjects were studied with a success which astonishes us even at the present day ; it produced the greatest religious reformer whom the world had seen, till the carpenter's Son took birth in Bethlehem ; and, above all, it had an active commerce with the West.

When we remember that our own religion was founded in Palestine, it is interesting to note that the earliest record of the trade of India that we know of is connected with that country. We read in the Book of Kings how the navy of Tarshish brought every three years to King Solomon, almug (or sandal) trees,<sup>1</sup> ivory,<sup>2</sup> apes,<sup>3</sup> and peacocks.<sup>4</sup> We need not now discuss where Tarshish was, but the Hebrew words used in this passage tell an interesting tale. There were no sandal trees or elephants or apes or peacocks in the Holy Land, and so the writers had to call them by the names used in the country from which they came. Now it has been shown that the words used by the Hebrew writers for these four articles are all Indian, so that the navy of Tarshish traded with India and brought them from that country. The course of trade is well known. The ships from India voyaged across the head of the Gulf of Arabia, and up the Red Sea and the Gulf of Akabah. The cargoes were then landed at the head of the Gulf and carried through Edom to Jerusalem and Tyre. From Tyre they were distributed by the ships of Hiram over the Mediterranean.

<sup>1</sup> I. Kings x. 12, or *algum*, II. Chron. ix. 10, cf. Sanskrit *valgu*, sandal wood.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. x. 22, *shen-habbim*, tooth of elephants, cf. Skr. *ibha*, elephant.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. *qôphim*, cf. Skr. *kapi*, monkey.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. *tukkiyim*, cf. Malayalam *togei*, peacock.

We may assume that all this took place about 950 years before our Lord's birth, and for the next 600 years communication between India and Europe seems to have mainly followed this sea-route, and to have passed either through Palestine or, up the Gulf of Suez, through Egypt. Then came the great upset of all things eastern due to the conquests of Alexander the Great. He invaded Egypt, and founded the city of Alexandria (B.C. 332) which henceforth became the distributing centre of Indian commerce. Alexander also made a raid into India. Thither his successors established another route—an overland one—and a hundred years later we hear of a great Indian Emperor on terms of friendly intercourse with Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt at Alexandria, and with other Greek monarchs. His communication with these was certainly by land; and by the land route, down to the foundation of Christianity, there was much coming and going between the East and the West.

Having now arrived at the beginning of Christianity, let us take a very brief glance at the religious history of India down to this period. We must first imagine ourselves some five thousand years ago, or more, in the steppe country of what is now southern Russia many hundreds of miles to the north. In those days there was a group of pastoral folk who here split up and wandered off in different directions. Some of them wandered westwards and peopled Europe. We ourselves are descended from them, and our language is descended from theirs. Others wandered southwards and invaded Persia and India. Some of those who settled in Persia became the Medes, and amongst their descendants were the Cyrus, whom Isaiah (xliv. 1) called 'The Lord's Anointed,' 'Darius the Mede' of the Book of Daniel, and Ahasuerus of Esther.

As for our cousins who entered India, they gradually conquered the whole country. They brought with them their religion—the worship of the forces of nature, the storm, the sky, the sun, the great waters—and found the then dark-coloured, flat-nosed, inhabitants of India on a much lower stage of civilisation. These sacrificed to demons, and each small group of people had also the little local god who, they believed, protected them and their

crops, and to whom they made oblations. The fair-skinned invaders, who called themselves 'Aryans,' settled at first in the Punjab, and gradually spread over the whole of India. They intermarried with the aborigines, and there arose a mixed people, mixed not only in race, but in regard to their religious ideas. Henceforth we see two kinds of religion running side by side in the country. The lower and poorer classes mingled more and more with the aborigines, and adopted more and more of their religious ideas, and thus came to recognise gods everywhere, in trees, in the running brook, in stones, numbering millions and millions. Each man had his own particular deity to worship, and in addition he had the particular god who protected his village. He believed himself to be surrounded by multitudes of ghosts, goblins, and demons, every one seeking occasion to injure him, from whom he was protected by his guardian deity.

The religious ideas of the higher spirits of the nation also developed. From the worship of a number of nature gods they now came to see not gods everywhere, but God everywhere. Everything that existed not only came from God, but was God. The human soul itself was a part of God, though clogged and bound to earth by earthly desires and passions. As long as these earthly desires and passions lasted, the soul would be born and born again after each death, and could never be united to the God from which it had proceeded till it had freed itself from them.

To all, existence—life—was a thing to be got rid of, but which could not be got rid of by death. That only meant being born again. The one way to end this misery, which all admitted, but which most, it must be confessed, bore with considerable equanimity, was, by knowledge of the essence of things, to free oneself from all taint of earthliness. The freed soul, no longer weighed down, would then soar to worlds unknown, and find its final release from toil and trouble by being reabsorbed in the God from whom it had emanated.

There were thus at this time only two objects of religion in India. The lower classes spent their religious energies in endeavouring to obtain protection from hosts of malevolent spirits, while each man of the educated classes

endeavoured to work out his own salvation, or what he thought was his salvation, by detaching himself from all earthly ties. Each system was frankly selfish. Selfishness was at the roots of both. In each case each man tried to save himself and cared not for others.

Between five and six hundred years before our Lord's time there came a tremendous reaction. A certain king's son, who had made himself master of all the wisdom of the Indian priests, renounced his princely rank, and at the age of thirty years appeared under the name of the Buddha, "the awakened," as a wandering teacher to the common folk. With regard to the great religion founded by him we need, at present, pay attention to only one feature of it. He taught the brotherhood of mankind. Selfishness was once for all banished from the religion of India. A man's business was no longer to save himself, but to love his brother. He was to consider "his own sorrows, heavy as a mountain though they may be, to be but a grain of dust—while his brother's sorrows, slight though they may be, and weighing but a grain of dust, he must consider to be heavy as a mountain." This was the first great step taken in the religious thought of India. Existence was now no longer living, it was loving. But this love was confined to man and to the lower animals. India, while it had learned the meaning of the word "brother," had yet to grasp in all its fulness that of "father." There was still the same ignorant worship and superstition. To these the Buddha had added the grace of charity, but the people had yet to wait for faith and hope. Such was the religious condition of India when in the ripeness of time the great hope of the ages was fulfilled and our Lord Jesus Christ was born in the little village on the outskirts of Jerusalem.

I have shown how communication between India and the west had been established, and have described the Indian soil into which the seed of Christianity was to fall. Let us now consider how the seed was actually conveyed. First there is the legend of St. Thomas. It is said that the twelve apostles drew lots as to the parts of the world which they were to evangelise, and that India fell to St. Thomas, who did not wish to go. Our Lord then appeared in person and sold St. Thomas for twenty pieces of silver to an Indian



merchant, who carried him back to his own country by sea. St. Thomas converted the king of that country, and then preached throughout all India, finally suffering martyrdom. We cannot accept this story in all its particulars, but other evidence makes it almost certain that the saint did preach in India, but only in the north-west, and that he probably arrived there by the land route, through Persia.

But whether we accept the legend or not, we must not forget that Alexandria, in Egypt, was from the earliest times a great centre of Christian influence, and that there was constant communication by sea between Egypt and India. One of the importations brought to India was slave girls, and it is most probable that some of these professed the new faith. Then the destruction of Jerusalem aided in the spread of Christianity, and we read of colonies of Christian Jews existing on the west coast of southern India not later than the commencement of the third century after our Lord's birth. Rumours of this community reached Alexandria, and several evangelists were then sent out to convert the heathen of India. The great source of missionary activity in these days was not, however, Alexandria, but the Nestorian Christians of Syria; and a flourishing Nestorian community gradually arose in southern India. These being isolated from their brethren in the west, their faith became corrupt. In 660 A.D. we read that they had no regular ministry. In the fourteenth century they had even given up the rite of baptism, and a mixed worship, Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu, went on at an old high place or joint hill shrine near Madras. But the cleansing fires were to come. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese found their way to India, and brought with them the Inquisition. To them the Nestorians were heretics, and after much persecution the latter abandoned their ancient faith at a Synod held in 1599, and entered the Roman Catholic Church. Then came the Dutch, who relieved the pressure, and after some fifty years the old Nestorian Church was revived, and exists to the present day.

We thus see that from Apostolic times the lamp of the truth, sometimes bright and sometimes dim, had been per-

sistently held up to the people of India, without the aid of organised missionary societies or other European evangelising agencies. It has been superseded by the brighter light of the great revival of the last four hundred years, but, so long as it was the only witness among the heathen it never became absolutely extinct.

We have observed how corrupt this Christianity had become in the fourteenth century, and how it had become mixed with Hindu and Muhammadan elements ; but what is more interesting is to note how it also acted on Hinduism, and gave it a Christian tone.

Every one has heard of the Hindu God Krishna. He has been worshipped for at least two thousand years, and it happened that some of the legends of his youthful days were not very dissimilar from the account of our Lord's birth as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. Krishna, on his birth, was pursued by his wicked uncle, who wished to kill him ; and his mother, in order to save his life, gave him away immediately after he was born. So far, the resemblance is only slight, but round this ancient story there has grown a festival celebrating his birth, in which it is impossible not to recognise Christian influence. In the festival ceremonies we have an altogether different account. His mother does not give away the child, but escapes while he is yet unborn to a cowherd's shed, there she gives birth to a son, and we are shown Indian pictures of her lying peacefully asleep, holding the suckling child to her bosom, with herdmen and herdmaidens round her glorifying her and singing her praises ; an ox and an ass by her side, and the redemption-bringing star in heaven. There are others which resemble even in minute details well-known Byzantine representations of the "Madonna Lactans," and which, like them, can be traced back to Egyptian pictures of Isis and Horus.<sup>1</sup> To this may be added the remarkable coincidence that in many parts of India the word "Krishna" is pronounced "Krishta," which helped the borrowing of the stories of the Shepherds of Bethlehem, of the Star in the East, and of the Babe lying in a manger.

Here we have a distinct and certain instance of the

<sup>1</sup> Much of this is based on the researches of the late Professor Weber of Berlin. I claim no originality.

Hindu religion borrowing from Christianity, not the kernel, but what we may call the outer shell of our religion, and, from a missionary point of view, it is of small importance. There has been here no borrowing of doctrine, no change of or addition to belief. And its value to us at present is that it shows that in India the religions were in contact at a very early date, and that they could, and did, borrow from each other. I lay no other stress upon it.

But in the early centuries of the Christian era a revolution took place in Indian religion, based on the idea of what is called—to give it its Indian name—*bhakti*. We have already seen that in our Lord's time Indian religion might have been summed up as a belief in a passionless, impersonal Supreme Deity, unmoved by prayer or adoration, from whom souls were kept apart by earthly defilement. There were also a number of subordinate gods and demons, whom it was judicious to propitiate, as they could save from trouble in this life,—although they could not give salvation after death. The only way to ultimate salvation, *i.e.* to final release from the weary round of transmigration, was to know oneself and thereby to know God. In the words of M. Barth religion was resolved into a matter of knowledge, either rational, intuitive, or revealed. Such knowledge released the soul from its earthly shackles, and allowed it to become one once more with the Deity from whom it had emanated.

But suddenly, in India, there came this great revolution of *bhakti*. Religion was no longer a matter of knowledge, it became one of emotion. *Bhakti* may be translated by "faith" or "devotion." It requires a personal, not an impersonal God, and implies, as St. Augustine has said, "*credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The official Hindu account of *bhakti* is contained in the *Aphorisms* of Sāṅdilya, which, with their commentary, were translated into English by Professor Cowell in 1878. The doctrine stands in direct and open opposition to the pantheism of the Vedānta system of philosophy which is generally supposed to be the basis of existing Hinduism. According to these *Aphorisms* pure *bhakti* is defined as "an affection fixed upon the Lord." It is not knowledge, though it may be the result of knowledge. Even those who hate the Lord may have knowledge of Him (Cf. Jas. ii. 19). It is not worship &c. These are merely outward acts, and *bhakti* need not necessarily be present in

I do not myself doubt that this great step forward of the Hindu soul was due to the influence of the Christians who were then settled in the country. It was not necessarily a conscious borrowing. It was not, openly, an adoption of Christian principles by Hindu thinkers, who had been wasting their lives on a barren search for knowledge. In such a search, even with the brother-love of Buddhism added to it, the people could find no permanent happiness. The craving for expressing love towards the Infinite which exists in every heart was there—a spark was sufficient to set it in a flame, and that vital spark came from Christianity.

The first Hindu book in which we see the doctrine of *bhakti* developed was known as the *Bhagavad Gita*, or Sacred Lay, which is still looked upon by Hindus as one of their most holy scriptures. It was written after the foundation of Christianity, but beyond this we cannot fix its date with certainty. It is a work of profound interest, containing many beautiful religious sentiments, some of which almost suggest the idea that they are quotations from

them. It is simply and solely an affection directed to a person, not a belief in a system. There is a promise of immortality to him who "abides" in Him. "Abiding" means "having *bhakti*." *Bhakti* is not a wish. A wish is selfish. Affection is unselfish. It is not a "work," and does not depend on an effort of the will. The fruit of "works" is transient, that of *bhakti* is eternal life. Works, if they are pure, are a means to *bhakti*. To be pure, they must be "surrendered to Him," *i.e.*, the doer must say "whatever I do, with or without my will, being all surrendered to Thee, I do it as impelled by Thee." Good actions done for the good results which they produce in a future life do not produce *bhakti*, but are bondage.

*Bhakti*, if looked upon as "faith," is not "belief." That may be merely subsidiary to ceremonial works. Not so *bhakti*. Belief is at best merely a subsidiary preliminary to *bhakti*. We have seen that knowledge may produce *bhakti*. The converse is not true. *Bhakti* is the terminus. We cannot *know* by *bhakti*, we can only *recognise* by it, a term which implies previous knowledge.

We know that *bhakti* is thoroughly confirmed by its signs or "fruits." Such are respect and honour paid to the Lord, sorrow for sin, doubt in every other object, celebration of His praise, continuing to live for His sake, considering everything as His, regarding Him as being in all things, resignation to His will, absence of anger, envy, greed, and impure thoughts.

The highest *bhakti* may be directed not only to the Supreme, but also to any of His incarnations, such as Krishna, Rama, and so on. The object of the Supreme becoming incarnate was pure compassion in the highest sense. No earthly compassion is purely disinterested. His alone is disinterested. He became incarnate, and descended from His high estate, solely to abolish disinterestedly others' woes.

our Bible. Take the following passage, as translated by Sir Monier Williams. The speaker is the Deity :

I am the light  
 In sun and moon, far, far beyond the darkness ;  
 I am the brilliancy in flame, the radiance  
 In all that's radiant, and the light of lights,  
 The sound in ether, fragrance in the earth,  
 The seed eternal of existing things,  
 The life in all, the father, mother, husband,  
 Forefather, and sustainer of the world,  
 Its friend and lord. I am its way, its refuge,  
 Its habitation and receptacle.

I dwell as Wisdom in the heart of all.  
 I am the Goodness of the good, I am  
 Beginning, Middle, End, eternal Time,  
 The Birth, the Death of all. I am the Symbol A  
 Among the characters.<sup>1</sup>

Such resemblances might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but I do not lay much stress upon them, as we have no certain reason for believing that the Hindu modes of expression have been borrowed from Christianity. There is nothing distinctively Christian about them, and they were not even new to India. In books written in India long before our Lord's time there are often to be met passages which remind us of similar ones in the New Testament, and regarding which, of course, there can be no suggestion about borrowing. But as regards the root idea of the book—*bhakti*, which suddenly appeared as if from nowhere, in the character of a fully developed foundation of belief, was so entirely new to India, and that

<sup>1</sup> Compare this with passages in our Bible, such as Rom. xi. 36, "Of him, and through him, and unto him are all things"; John i. 3, "All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made"; I. John i. 5, "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all"; John xiv. 6, "I am the way"; II. Cor. iv. 6, "God . . . who shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ"; Rev. i. 17, "I am the first and the last . . . and have the keys of death and of Hades"; Rev. i. 8, "I am the Alpha and the Omega." Again—compare

"Whate'er thou dost perform, whate'er thou eatest,  
 Whate'er thou givest to the poor, whate'er  
 Thou offerest in sacrifice, whate'er  
 Thou doest as an act of holy penance  
 Do all as if to me"

with I. Cor. x. 31, "Whether, therefore, ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

character is so essentially Christian, that we must assume that it originally came from abroad.

I have explained above how it could have come, and a curious Indian legend bears out the suggestion. The Sacred Lay is a portion of another work, a huge encyclopædia of most miscellaneous contents of varying age, called the *Mahabharata*. In one of the more modern portions of that work, but still more than a thousand years old, there is a story of a visit<sup>1</sup> paid by three Hindu saints, under direct inspiration of God, to "a land of great splendour on the northern shore of one of the oceans," and called the "white continent." "The inhabitants have complexions as white as the rays of the moon and are full of *bhakti* to Him who moves upon the waters. They believe and worship only one God." "Go ye thither," said the Oracle, "for there have I revealed myself." When the saints arrived at this mysterious continent they found the inhabitants possessing "every mark of blessedness. The faces of some were turned to the north and of others to the east, all with their hands clasped in prayer, silently, with unuttered words, meditating on the Supreme. . . . All the inhabitants were perfectly equal in glory, there was no superiority or inferiority among them. We then suddenly beheld a light arise that seemed to be the concentrated effulgence of a thousand suns. The inhabitants, assembling together, ran towards that light, with hands reverently clasped, full of joy and uttering the words 'We bow to thee.' We then heard a very loud noise uttered by all of them together. It seemed that those men were employed in offering a sacrifice to the Great God . . . the sound said 'Victory to thee, O thou of eyes like lotus-petals. Salutations to thee, O Creator of the Universe . . . O Lord of the organs of sense—O Foremost of Beings—thou who art the First-born.' This was what we heard, uttered distinctly and melodiously . . . Without doubt, Hari [*i.e.* the God who according to Hindu ideas becomes incarnate] appeared in that place whence the sound arose, but as regards ourselves, stupefied by his illusion we could not see Him." It is then explained to them that "these white men, who are divested of all outer senses [*i.e.* who

<sup>1</sup> *Mahabharata*, 10, 337.

are pure in heart] are alone competent to see God. . . . go hence, ye saints, to the place whence ye have come. That great Deity is incapable of being ever seen by one that is destitute of *bhakti*.”<sup>1</sup>

Is not this just the account that would be given by a devoutly disposed stranger of the gorgeous ceremonies of some of the ancient eastern Christian congregations? The universal equality; the proclamation of monotheism; the necessity of purity of heart to see God; the great Church into which God himself descended, visible only to the eye of faith; the adoration of the “First-born”; the silent prayer; the glorious bursting forth of the loud *Gloria in excelsis*; the melodious chant of the Eucharistic ritual. Remember, then, that this passage is taken from the greatest and most popular of the religious books of India. The pilgrims tell the story as of a state of affairs existing outside India, and for which India itself was not yet ripe. It was here, they said, that perfect *bhakti* existed, and from here it must be brought to India. It came.

Before leaving the general question of the borrowing of the idea of *bhakti* from Christianity, I would mention a few minor coincidences between the two religious systems. Taken by themselves, I fully admit, they would prove nothing. They are facts which occur in many religions, and which may have arisen independently. But, taken together with what is said elsewhere in this article they help to form a cumulative proof of some importance. These coincidences refer, (1) to the treatment of religious teachers; (2) to views regarding incarnation—unorthodox amongst Christians, but perfectly orthodox amongst Hindus; (3) to mystical speculations regarding the power of the sacred Name; and (4) to the controversy concerning predestination.

A very prominent and peculiar feature of all forms of Indian *bhakti* worship is the reverence paid to the spiritual teacher. No language is deemed too extravagant to use in this respect. He is equal to God; he is the essence of all the gods; he is to be worshipped as equal to the Supreme Deity. The very dust of his feet is a lotus-

<sup>1</sup> This translation is almost word for word that made by a non-Christian Hindu. My only alterations have been to make it more literal.

pollen, bright, fragrant, sweet, and delicious ; a pure extract of the root of ambrosia, potent to disperse all the attendant ills of life. This is a natural development of the very proper idea of reverence to a teacher ; but it is not a necessary one, and it is interesting to see that the very same development occurred in early Christianity. "My son," says the *Didache*,<sup>1</sup> the first commandment is "Thou shalt by night and day remember him that speaketh to thee the word of God ; thou shalt honour him as the Lord ; for whencesoever the lordship is proclaimed there is the Lord present."

Again the *Didache* (xi. 4) says "Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain more than one day or, if need be, two ; if he remain for three days, he is a false prophet." So the wandering ascetic or teacher of *bhakti* doctrines is not allowed to stay as a guest more than one lunar day. Like the early Christian teachers, he is a wanderer. "Why not," one of these was asked in a well-known story, "revere the name of Rama in one place? Why not sit in some place singing the goodness of the Giver." The sage replied, "Sir, all this is true, but have you not heard the saying :

'Running water is clear, but confined water stinketh,  
Good men wander about, and so no taint affecteth them' ?"

There have, of course, been wandering ascetics in India from the earliest times. The Buddha himself sometimes travelled from place to place. But nowhere, except in the *bhakti* literature, have I seen it stated that the wandering is to be done for its own sake. Elsewhere, it is not a necessary accompaniment of teaching. In the *Didache* and in *bhakti* literature to be a teacher of the highest grade one *must* be a wanderer.

Again, according to early Christian teaching, from the time of St. Mark's Gospel downwards, to be penniless was considered absolutely essential for apostles and prophets. Origen (*Contra Celsum*, iii. 9) says that it is the business of life of some Christians to wander from city to city to gain fresh converts for the Lord. They do not do this for the sake of gain, and often refuse to accept so

<sup>1</sup> Chapter iv., quoted from Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*, i. 418.



much as the bare necessities of life. If necessity do drive them sometimes to accept a gift, they are content with getting their most pressing needs satisfied. There is a favourite Indian story of the great teacher Tulasi Dasa, who at first carried little delicacies such as pepper, condiments, and camphor in his wallet, but found even these an impediment to his teaching, and not only gave up the practice, but refused henceforth to accept anything but the plainest food.

Again there is a remarkable coincidence in the development of the theory of the incarnation. To the Christian, our Lord is an incarnation of the Godhead, and to the Hindu, Rama is the same. But amongst the early Christians there arose extreme views regarding the twelve apostles. Harnack, in his *Expansion of Christianity* (i. 439) tells how in the *Pistis Sophia* (a famous Gnostic work), they also were looked upon as subordinate incarnations. Clement even states that the apostles were in his time usually called "saviours of men" (σωτήρες τῶν ἀνθρώπων). Exactly the same exaggeration has occurred with regard to Rama. His brothers and companions are alleged in the later Hindu theology to be incarnations of the Godhead as truly as he was, but in a subordinate measure. Here we have a coincidence, as I have said, between unorthodox Christianity and orthodox Hinduism, and it is probable that the borrowing, if borrowing there was, was in this instance done by the west from the east. We know that such borrowing did occur in the case of the neo-Platonism of Alexandria, and, considering the lively traffic that existed between that city and India, it could very easily have taken place. Its value here is that it shows the *possibility* of the transfer of religious opinions between the Mediterranean and the Orient.

At a very early period in Christian history, belief in the power of our Lord developed into an extravagant idea of the power of his *Name*, as such. Origen himself<sup>1</sup> (*Contra Celsum*, i. 6) says that the power of exorcism "lies in the *Name* of Jesus, which is uttered as the stories

<sup>1</sup> The following patristic references are taken from the works of Professor Harnack and of the late Mr. Growse (the translator of Tulasi Dasa's *Ramayana*).

of His life are being narrated." He talks of a secret "science of names," which confers power on the initiated. "The name of Jesus," he adds, "comes under this science of names." In later times we have Thomas à Kempis referring to "the holy utterance, short to read, easy to retain, sweet to think upon, strong to protect." From other mediæval writers we have "by his most holy Name, which consists of five letters, he daily offers pardon to sinners" (*P. Pelbart*). "No one can devoutly utter thy Name without profit" (*S. Bonaventura*). "The Name alone is sufficient for healing; for there is no plague so obstinate that it does not inevitably yield to the Name" (*Ricardus de S. Laurentio*). "Evil spirits flee, as if from fire, when they hear the Name" (*S. Bridget*). "All demons honour this Name, and fear it. When they hear it, they at once release the soul which they have been holding in their talons" (*S. Bridget*). "Glorious and wonderful is the Name. Those who keep it, will have no fear when at the point of death" (*S. Bonaventura*). "The Name is full of all sweetness, and of divine relish" (*Honorius*). There are traces of this reverence for the Name in modern English hymns.

Similarly a theory became developed in *bhakti* religion as to the virtue of the name of Rama. There are legends of sinners who obtained salvation by the mere unintentional utterance of the Divine Name when at the point of death. Tulasi Dasa, like Thomas à Kempis, praises "these two gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world and felicity in the next." With oriental hyberbole Indian mystics even maintain that the Name is greater than the substance. "The form is of less importance than the Name, for without the Name you cannot come to knowledge of the form; if the very form be in your hand, still without knowing the Name it is not recognised; but meditate on the Name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion."

The theological quarrel about predestination is, in Christianity, at least as old as Pelagius and St. Augustine. A similar development has produced two schools of *bhakti* thought in India. They are known as the "cat" and the

"monkey" schools respectively. The cat-school, which holds the doctrine of "irresistible grace," teaches that God saves the soul as a cat takes up its kitten, without free-will on the part of the latter. The monkey-school, which holds the doctrine of "co-operative grace," teaches that the soul, in order to be saved, must reach out and embrace God, as a young monkey clings to its mother. No Calvinist ever hated a Lutheran more than does a member of the cat-school hate the adherents of the monkey doctrine, and *vice versa*. Christianity is followed even in its *odium theologicum*.

I have said that *bhakti* implies faith in a *personal* God. None of the minor deities who were worshipped by the Hindus would be worthy of such adoration, and the God whom they looked upon as Supreme was absolutely impersonal. How then did they find an object for their adoration? They did so by the adoption and expansion of an old theory of incarnations. It was a very ancient legend in India that ever and anon, when the world required rescuing from any particular evil, the Supreme Being became personal and incarnate on the earth. There were believed to have been nine of these incarnations, and to two of them the adoration of worshippers became directed. These were Krishna and Rama. Some worshippers adored one and some the other, and in this way two great cults arose. Krishna's legendary exploits as an incarnate God were far from edifying. He is said to have divided the days of his youth between dallying with the herd-maidens among whom he grew up, and destroying demons. He was a compound of Lothario and Jack the giant-killer. His worshippers, under the influence of *bhakti*, read all his adventures as mystic parables. The love of Krishna and Radha, wedded as it has been to verse in one of the most beautiful poems written in India, is looked upon as typical of the love which God bears to the human soul. The soul's devotion to the Deity is pictured by Radha's self-abandonment to her beloved, and all the hot blood of oriental passion is thus poured forth in one mighty wave of praise and prayer to the Infinite Creator. Except for the ground-idea of *bhakti*, there is nothing Christian about this. The imagery often reminds us of that of the Song of

Songs, but there is no reason to suggest any imitation. The initial impulse alone was given by Christianity. We have seen how the machinery of the Gospels of the Infancy has been adopted and adapted, but the development has depended on a different interpretation of the idea of love. It is based on the love of a man for a woman, not on that of a father to his child.

It has been fortunate for India that this devotion to Krishna, in its extremest phases, has not spread very widely. It is confined to one or two provinces, and elsewhere is only found amongst a few isolated sects.

Far different was the worship of Rama. As an incarnation of the Supreme Deity, Rama is said to have been a prince of Northern India who by a palace intrigue was banished from his kingdom. After suffering many sorrows, and ridding the world of a powerful demon who was oppressing it, he returned to his kingdom, and reigned in peace and prosperity. An old poet, many years before our era, had taken up the subject of Rama's adventures, and thrown them into the shape of an epic which achieved great popularity. In it Rama is exhibited both as an incarnation of the Deity and as the Perfect Man. Here was an object for devotion ready made, and in the middle of the twelfth century a great teacher (Ramanuja) arose in southern India preaching *bhakti* or faith in Rama as necessary to salvation. He did not teach a popular religion. His doctrines were reserved for a select few, and were couched in learned language. It was not till three hundred years later that the teaching was broadened. It was then preached in the language of the common people, and all classes were invited to join. It won an immediate success. It is an interesting fact that just at this very time the great reformation in Europe, likewise based on a free Bible in the tongue of the people, was taking place.

There was nothing licentious in the character of Rama, and so far as a human character is capable of receiving divine honours, he was portrayed as such by the old poets. There was nothing ignoble or sensual in the worship directed to him. We have seen that it sprang up in southern India, near the Christians, and in this case not only the initial *bhakti*, but also many of the ground principles as

ultimately developed, are due to the example of Christianity. The various sects whose religions were based on *bhakti* directed to Rama were few in numbers till we arrive at the sixteenth century, when there arose, the contemporary of Shakespeare, one of the greatest reformers that India has ever known—Tulasi Dasa. I shall briefly describe his teaching, and show how near it is to that of Christianity. That it owes much to that source cannot be doubted for a moment. The original idea of *bhakti* came from Christians. The worship of Rama arose near the same Christians. The earlier teachers all came from this part of India. This teaching was all of a novel character, strange to other Indian religions, and in these respects was identical with the teaching of Christianity. Tulasi Dasa's teaching was nothing new. Nevertheless while he took the old Rama religion as it came from south India, he adopted it with such ardour, and infused into it so high a spirit, that where its adherents had been tens they became thousands, and have been multiplying ever since. It has been estimated that the number of people who at the present day acknowledge him as their guide, and treat his writings as the only inspired works which they read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, amounts to at least ninety millions. His great poem is every whit as familiar to the modern native of northern India as our Bible is to an Englishman. It is part and parcel of the life and character of everyone. The every-day speech of the field and home is based upon it, so that, when one reads it, it is like reading Hamlet. Each line is a household word.

Now what did he teach? In the first place it must be remembered that, like all the Indian reformers, he was no iconoclast. He left untouched, I had almost said uncared for, the whole Hindu Pantheon with its myriads of gods and goddesses, its angels and its devils. He never interfered with the current belief in these. In practice he told his followers that they might believe in them or not as they liked. To him it was a matter of indifference. But one thing they must believe—that, over all, there was one God, inconceivable, unknowable, and absolutely pure. The world is very wicked. Out of pity for the miseries of the world this Supreme Being became personal—*i.e.*, he became

incarnate in the person of Rama, "the Redeemer of the World." This Rama lived on this world as a man, sharing manhood in its greatest joys, in its bitterest sorrows. He is now in heaven—still a personal deity—full of love—and, with all his experience of man's weakness, full of compassion. Tulasi is never weary of laying stress on the fact that Rama's knowledge of man is based on his having suffered as a man. To quote with all reverence a sentence of our own Bible regarding our own Master, Tulasi Dasa taught that Rama, once a man, is "touched with the feeling of our infirmities."

He goes on to argue that this Rama—ininitely merciful, knowing by actual experience how great are man's infirmities and temptations, and himself incapable of sin—is ever ready to extend his help to the sinful being that calls upon him.<sup>1</sup>

Then arises the question of sin. The idea of sin was familiar from of old in India, but only as an impediment to ultimate salvation. Sin, in other words, prevented a man's release from transmigration, and condemned him in future life to lower and more miserable stages of existence. Tulasi Dasa did not deny this. To him it was a commonplace. But he added to it the far higher idea that sin was hateful because, and only because, it was incompatible with the pure nature of the incarnate God whom he worshipped.

Again, the idea of the brotherhood of man had, as I have said, been current in India for two thousand years, but Tulasi put it on a far higher plane. Buddha had said that it was a *duty* to consider every man as a brother, Tulasi said that the brotherhood was a *fact*, for every man was the child of the infinitely loving all-Father.

To sum up Tulasi Dasa's theology, it was this—Rama is God, therefore he can save him. Rama is man, therefore he *will* save him; and as he says in one of his most beautiful poems "although my body is diseased and full of sin, although my every word is foul and false, yet, O Lord, with thee do I hold the close kinship of a perfect love."

Let me quote from one of his prayers.

"Lord look thou upon me—nought can I do of myself. Whither can I go? To whom but thee can I tell my sorrows?

<sup>1</sup> Tulasi Dasa belonged to the "monkey" school.

Oft have I turned my face from thee, and grasped the things of this world ; but thou art the fount of mercy—turn not thou thy face from me . . . When I looked away from thee, I had no eyes of faith to see thee where thou art ; but thou art all-seeing . . . I am but an offering cast before thee ; what prayer can the reflection on the mirror make to him who lives and is reflected in it ? First look upon thyself and remember thy mercy and thy might ; then cast thine eyes upon me and claim me as thy slave, thy very own. For the name of the Lord is a sure refuge, and he who taketh it is saved. Lord, thy ways ever give joy unto my heart ; Tulasi is thine alone, and, O God of mercy, do unto him as seemeth good unto thee."

Now just think what all this means. Here we have ninety millions of people—far more than twice the population of the British Isles—to our ideas ignorant, uncivilised, sunk in the depths of superstition and the grossest polytheism, and yet having their inner spiritual ideas based on themes such as I have just described. They worship myriads of gods, and tremble before uncounted demons, and yet they all have only one God, Rama. They believe themselves to be perpetually surrounded by spirits hungry for oblations, jealous amongst each other of the offerings made and ready to avenge cruelly the most unintentional neglect, and yet there is also Rama—Rama looking, as they say, down from his lattice window—placing each in his state of life, watching him, guarding him, rewarding him according to his work—Rama, the Giver of all to all alike, to the fluttering sparrow, even to the creeping snake, and how much more to man—Rama, who when man's day's work is done, and he stands lonely and shivering on the bleak shore of the ocean of existence before taking the last great plunge, stretches out his arms to him and cries in loving accents, "Come, I will ferry thee across." A strange contradiction surely, and yet the simple philosophy of the rustic Indian has found the means of reconciling these opposing theologies. We call Hinduism debasing, corrupt, soul-destroying. So, in a measure, it is, but we must never forget that it is also elevating, pure, and partly based on Christianity. Of northern India we may say more perhaps than of any other heathen people that God hath not left Himself without a witness in any nation.

Has this Christian influence worked for good ? I have

said that the borrowing of the external legends of Christianity by the worshippers of Krishna has done nothing. Our religion has only been debased by association with lewdness, and has given little in return. But in the case of the ninety millions of Rama worshippers, with one important exception—the acceptance of the *person* of our Master—nearly all the basal conceptions of our religion have been adopted. “By their fruits ye shall know them.” What are the fruits? No one who has lived in India has been able to ignore them, though few have recognised the root from which they spring. The contrast between the Rama worshippers of northern India and the Krishna worshippers of Bengal is most marked. The northern Indian is brave, sober, and hard-working. We recruit our armies from his villages. It was the sepoys of northern India who had the courage to stand up against the sahibs in the great Mutiny. It was the villagers of northern India who, in that same Mutiny, gave asylum to hundreds of Englishmen and women fleeing for their lives, and who refused under all temptations to give them up. Krishna worship, with its adoration of the infant Krishna, has, it is true, in its best forms developed among its followers a gentleness of disposition, and a believing faith which has bred within their hearts a habit of the most sincere resignation to the divine will, but Rama worship has made a nation of men. Krishna worship is based on the love of a man for a maid, Rama worship on the love of a brother for a brother, of a son for a father. That is the difference in a nutshell; and that difference, and the difference of social standards which has resulted from it, are due to the leaven of Christianity which the latter contains, far more than to varieties of climate and soil which are usually given as the explanation.

That the system of theology taught by Tulasi Dasa is practised in its entirety by all the ninety millions who nominally accept it I do not pretend. All the Englishmen who profess Christianity are not practising Christians. But as even the convinced agnostic of this country acts over and over again under the influence of the religion which he affects to despise, so much more are the principles and teaching of Tulasi Dasa woven and interwoven throughout the fabric of the life of every inhabitant of northern India.



Even when not acted up to, they are ever present as an ideal. On the other hand, I can vouch from personal experience, that when consistently accepted and (so far as human frailty admits) adopted as a basis of conduct, they produce really beautiful characters, even in the humblest paths of life.

So far I have been describing the influence of Christianity apart from the efforts of the missionary spirit of the past four centuries. Nor is it my purpose now to refer to the direct result of these efforts. But the Spirit of God does not confine itself to this channel of grace. Christianity is still "in the air" in India as it was in the time of Tulasi Dasa, and new Hindu sects are being formed at the present day (no doubt as *indirect* results of missionary teaching) which are based upon some or all of its precepts. Let me briefly refer to one which has been fully described in a late number of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*. It was founded in the Punjab some forty years ago by an ignorant petty shopkeeper named Chet Ram. His teaching (and it is followed by a sect which is officially reported to be "increasing day by day") was based on "implicit confidence in Christ as the only God. A copy of the Bible was to be worn by each of his disciples round his neck. His disciples were also to carry a long rod with a cross at its head. The front portion of the horizontal part of the rod bears the following inscription :

'Help, O Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, God! Read the Bible and the Gospels for salvation.'

This is not a quotation from a missionary magazine. It is an extract from a dry Government report on the last census, in which all religions, Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, and Christian are treated with absolute impartiality. Here we see how, to become the religion of India, Christianity must necessarily grow. As long as it is an exotic, something from a foreign land, and preached by foreign missionaries who impose upon their converts western thoughts and western systems of theology unsuited to an oriental mind, it cannot hope for wide acceptance. But once its principles are accepted as principles, and not as forming part of a foreign system, there is hope for its spreading, and for its

eventually becoming the national religion of our Indian Empire. Our task must be not to plant full-grown trees but to sow the seed. Let me quote again the Master's words: "So is the kingdom of God as if a man should cast seed upon the earth ; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up and grow, he knoweth not how." When it is sprung up our duty begins again—not to force it into the artificial growths of our western life, but to guide it and guard it from grafting itself on to other trees of baser origin. That is what became of Christianity when associated with Rama worship. We have seen what incalculable good it has done even under such circumstances. What may we not hope from it, if the shoot grows strong and vigorous—a true product of Indian soil—free from the contamination of the west and of the east alike ?

One word more. When speaking of Indian religions, let us not always talk of them as blank heathenism to be conquered and beaten down by a victorious army marching under the banner of the Cross. Let us ever remember that in some, at least, of them there are many grains of truth—ay, of *Christian* truth ; and let the missionary motto be the words of St. Paul: "What therefore ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you."

G. A. GRIERSON.

## MISSIONARY PROFESSORSHIPS.

It may be taken for granted that many readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* are familiar with the scheme of the Pan-Anglican Congress proposed to be held in 1908, and that some have studied the pamphlet on the answers received to the inquiries of its promoters which has been published by the S.P.C.K. Such careful readers must have been impressed by the magnitude and variety of the problems which have so far emerged. Among twelve problems selected we have, specially connected with the foreign mission-field : the supply and training of candidates ; the development of national Churches ; the use of one prayer-book by all ; the organisation of the Anglican Communion on the basis of Churches, independent and national, but one in action and council ; the race question in the Christian Church, and throughout the world ; union with other Churches of Christendom ; and the evangelisation of Japan, India, and China.

The prosecution of foreign missionary work and the practical solution of these problems are undertaken on behalf of the Church of England by six principal societies.<sup>1</sup> It was inevitable, therefore, that there should be included among the great tasks referred to the co-ordination and unification

<sup>1</sup> The principal direct missionary societies referred to are the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the South American Missionary Society, the Melanesian Mission, and the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Besides the efforts of many auxiliary societies, such as the Missionary Leaves Association, an essential part of missionary work is being carried on by the Literature societies, among which the S.P.C.K. is specially connected with the Church of England. The Religious Tract Society, and the Christian Literature Society for India, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, are worked jointly by Churchmen and Nonconformists, and other societies, such as the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and the China Inland Mission (a former missionary of which, Bishop Cassels, is a bishop of our Church in Inland China) draw part of the resources from members of the Church of England and share her work in the foreign field.

of Anglican missions, and to this object the efforts of the United Boards of Missions of Canterbury and York have been directed. For these efforts the missionaries of our Church may well be thankful. To them in no small measure is due, as we believe, the more general interest and thoughtful study bestowed on missionary work of late years. Among the special objects aimed at by the United Boards is the promotion of systematic missionary study, and the same end is being pursued by the missionary societies in various ways, with this result, among others, that the public is prepared to read and appreciate a missionary review like *THE EAST AND THE WEST*.

More than this is needed. In addition to collecting and disseminating the facts of missionary work, it is necessary to collate and treat them with reference to their underlying principles—in other words, to deal with missions not only as an art, but as a science. That this is being done to some extent within the limits of the Church of England is witnessed by the existence of books like the *History of the C.M.S.* by Mr. Eugene Stock, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.* by Mr. Pascoe, and the *Ecclesiastical Expansion of England* by Bishop Barry. But most of the work in this department has been done thus far by those who are not members of the Church of England. The publishing firms in London, Edinburgh, and New York which make a specialty of works on the philosophy of missions are chiefly supplied with their material by other than Churchmen, and the most systematic and thorough efforts in this direction have been due to German industry. Dr. Grunemann's *Universal Atlas of Missions*, Professor Christlieb's *History of Protestant Missions*, and Professor Warneck's *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* began, a generation ago, the "Higher Criticism" of missions, which has been gradually followed in Great Britain and America. Germany, too, has led the way in the appointment of university professors to investigate and teach the subject of foreign missions. Is it not time that the church which claims to be the national Church of England, and which therefore has the greatest missionary responsibility of all the Churches of Christendom, should do something more effective in this direction, and would not the approaching

Pan-Anglican Conference be an appropriate occasion for a fresh departure in promoting the research and teaching of Missions as a science?

There may be some who would take exception to the use of the term "Science of Foreign Missions." We have theology, philology, ethnology, economics: is it not sufficient to take the results of these sciences, properly so called, and to apply them in a practical way to the great spiritual object of making disciples of the nations? The answer to this is that what is suggested is not the constitution of a new and separate science, but the development of what we have. If in the Kingdom of God upon earth there is of necessity an army, whose work is to reconquer the territories that owe allegiance to Him, that army must have an Intelligence Department fully equipped and staffed, and able to supply the results of research and experiment to its own science of the Holy War. The ministers of Christ are constituted by Him fishers of men as well as shepherds of His flock. If the importance of pastoral theology is such that it may rightly claim a chair in a university, are the claims of evangelistic theology of less importance or urgency? If the past history of the Church deserves careful research and study, is the history of the Church as it is now being extended in the world less worthy of the closest attention?

What is needed is, therefore, the recognition of the science of foreign missions as a separate department of theology, with due provision for research and teaching. In addition to the intrinsic merits of the subject of Missions, its scientific treatment is a most necessary balance to another department of knowledge which is beginning to claim its place in the curriculum of theological instruction—*i.e.* comparative religious science. Some demand that Christian theology be henceforth treated only as a branch of comparative religious science. Apart from such a vagary we have come to recognise that there is a real and justifiable reaction of non-Christian upon Christian thought,<sup>1</sup> and we desire and expect the nations to bring the

<sup>1</sup> Compare an excellent article on "The Influence of India on Christian Thought," by the Rev. E. W. Thompson, M.A., in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1905.

honour and glory of their intellectual and religious gifts into the City of God. The needed adjustment between the claims of comparative religion and Christian doctrine is found in the true science of Missions, which vindicates the "Christus Consummator."

The need of it meets us, moreover, in the practical working of Missions at every turn. It may suffice, by way of illustration, to refer to the threefold objective of missionary effort laid down by that great missionary statesman, Henry Venn: self-support, self-government, self-extension.

Self-support must depend on a correct apprehension and following out of the true principles of missionary economics. Nor is this so simple an affair as might appear. In former centuries, if the church of a given region was not "self-supporting" it perished, as did the Church of the Eastern Soudan, from exhaustion, spiritual and temporal. Now it is probable that the conscience of Christendom would not permit such an occurrence. Among the Mission Churches of the world, numbering—for the reformed communions only—some four and a half million souls, we find that, with few exceptions, they are economically dependent on the Western Churches which founded them. What is the cause of this phenomenon, which is new in the history of the Church? It is a result of the propagation of Christianity, yet it is quite contrary to the teaching of the New Testament. The cause must lie in some circumstance connected with the modern conditions of missionary effort which did not obtain in the previous history of the Church. Probably this is to be found in the fact that the nations which furnish the missionary agencies of our age are on a level of economic development and general culture, widely removed from those who are the objects of their evangelising activity, and that the Christian peoples mostly belong to races which mingle less readily with the present non-Christian peoples than was the case in apostolic or mediæval times; while those Christian nationalities of oriental race which approximate most to the non-Christian world are at present little qualified to propagate their religion, having had hitherto a hard struggle to hold it fast themselves. The non-Christian world, broadly speaking, is in a state of

economic dependence on the Christian world, and the function of the former is to supply markets for the productions of the latter, nor do the Christian nations, from the political point of view, at all desire to see this relation altered. But so long as it obtains, this state of things must be a powerful obstacle in the way of the economic independence of the churches founded from Western lands. Yet there must be some way out of the difficulty, if it be properly faced and its causes thoroughly understood. At present our induction of facts is extremely imperfect, not to say rudimentary. What, *e.g.*, do we know of the economic development of Roman Catholic missionary churches? Their numbers are considerably greater than those of the reformed communions, and in tracts where they are remote from European influences there must be useful facts to be obtained. For the last fifty years the various missionary societies and boards have been engaged in trying to develop a successful policy of self-support, but, so far as I know, no careful and exhaustive examination has been made of the economic conditions of missionary effort in modern times, with reference to secular politics and economics. Yet it is no less necessary for missionary authorities to have before them the results of such investigations than it is for the state to inquire by means of a Royal Commission or otherwise into the economic conditions of the country before attempting to deal with the problems of poverty and lack of employment. That is to say, the scientific treatment of Missions by means of careful research and induction is a prime necessity.

Take the questions connected with self-government, with reference to discipline and church organisation.

The crucial point of discipline in Mission Churches is that of the marriage law. As great as is the variety of marriage customs among the nations of the non-Christian world, so great is the complexity of the problems that have to be dealt with by the Mission Churches. Even in regard to the comparatively plain matter of polygamy, it is in the remembrance of many how difficult the question of the baptism of polygamous converts proved, when debated at the Lambeth Conference of 1888, and how diverse the views of missionary bishops from Asia and Africa. Again,

according to the law of Mohammedan states and communities (recognised by the British Indian Government), the apostasy of either party from Islam involves *ipso facto* the dissolution of the marriage. If a married man, then, is baptized, and his wife follows his example after an interval, what is their relation to each other? If the wife stay away from him, how long is he bound to wait for her before contracting marriage with a Christian. These and other like questions have been dealt with more or less in various dioceses in the East and the West. We need to record and collate the decisions arrived at, to formulate the principles that emerge, and to submit them for sanction to the central authority of the Church.

More, I believe, has been done, especially in connection with the C.M.S. Centenary, in the investigation of Church organisation; but, besides giving attention on a special occasion to constitutions so widely different as those of the Nippon Sei Kokwai in Japan, the churches of the West African Delta and Uganda, or the C.M.S. Church Council system in India, we have to follow up the development of each and compare it with its fellows throughout the world. Without careful research, collation and the widest possible induction, this cannot be done so as to yield satisfactory results. Self-extension is pre-eminently a note of the missionary church, without which it cannot be in full health. Yet the question has also to be asked: What must we first demand of nascent churches in the way of provision for the support of their own ministry and worship, before we encourage them to go forward largely in evangelising? Again, the question has lately been put by a missionary bishop, and has been considered by one of our leading societies in a special committee, whether, instead of increasing the foreign missionary staff as a mission grows and prospers, the policy should not rather be to lessen the foreign staff, and so to put more responsibility on the indigenous church? Or again, the question has been canvassed with some eagerness, why we have as yet so few indigenous bishops in the whole range of the mission-field? But, so far as I remember, the question lying at the back of this was not raised, viz. why we have so few indigenous missionaries in full charge of stations? Till there



is a supply of indigenous clergy who have learned to episcopise in their own charges, it is futile to expect that there will be men who can be profitably selected for the higher office. In the case of these and many more questions, we are thrown back on first principles which have to be verified or found out by research and induction. The work of such investigation should be constant, therefore it cannot be expected that those who are actively engaged in the work of administration or evangelisation should perform it adequately.

If what has been written holds good of the demands of missionary work, it is evident that it applies equally to the previous training of the missionary worker. The growth of indigenous churches, the spread of education and culture in mission lands, and the revival here and there of the old religious systems, combined with a clearer understanding of these cults among ourselves, have combined to impress upon us a sense of the complexity of missionary work, and to make us feel that a longer and more thorough training is needed for the missionary aspirant, and this most of all for those who come from our universities. The students in the missionary colleges at Islington, Canterbury and elsewhere receive more or less training in the technique of their future work, but the university candidate, unless he reside at a missionary college for a time, as some do, may go out to the field with no technical training, only to be put to the pain of learning, under new and difficult conditions of climate, language and surroundings, what should have been taught him before he left home. Not only for purposes of research but also for those of teaching do we need representatives of the Science of Foreign Missions in our universities.

That much good work has been done in the way of treating the philosophy and science of Missions, I would be the last to deny. My object is to advocate that experts be set apart in our own Church, to give themselves wholly to this special branch of the work, and to suggest that this should be taken as one of the objects to be realised by means of the general thankoffering which it is proposed to make at the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1908.

Before concluding, it may be well to mention what as

far as I have been able to discover, has been done elsewhere by way of promoting missionary research and teaching in universities and colleges.

The leading scholar and teacher of the Science of Missions is Professor Warneck of Halle, formerly a retired minister of the protestant State Church (*evangelische Landeskirche*) of the Rhine Province and Westphalia. For many years Professor Warneck was Director of the Rhenish Missionary Society at Barmen, one of the chief centres of religious and missionary life in Protestant Germany.<sup>1</sup> After his retirement he was called to the University of Halle (the scene of August Hermann Francke's great work in the eighteenth century) as "Ordinary,"<sup>2</sup> professor of the protestant theological faculty, for foreign Missions. Professor Warneck is an honorary professor; but it is intended, after his retirement, to found a paid professorship. In Berlin Dr. Plath, formerly Director of the Gossner missionary society, was "Titular" Professor of Missions for a number of years. I attended his lectures as a student there in 1871-2. He was followed by Licentiat Stosch, chaplain of a deaconess institution, who still lectures. Lectures on the Science of Missions are delivered from time to time in the universities of Marburg, Göttingen, Kiel and Königsberg (formerly too, in Bonn and Strassburg) by "ordinary" theological professors. The number of students attending lectures in Berlin has been small; other occasional courses were well attended at Kiel and Marburg; in other universities moderately. At Halle Professor Warneck has had an average of 100 hearers in public (*i.e.* free) lectures, in "private" ones (with fees) 30 to 50, the protestant theological faculty numbering somewhat over 300 students. Foreign Missions do not constitute a special subject of examination, but in the second theological examination *pro ministerio* questions are, from time to time, put on the subject. Dr. Warneck kindly gives the following details of his professorial work:

<sup>1</sup> The Rhenish Missionary Society is one of the most successful societies in its work among Mohammedans in the islands of Sumatra and Celebes in the Malay Archipelago.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, full standing; the other grades being "extraordinary" professor (a kind of reserve) and *Privatdozent* or lecturer.

"Most missionary lecture courses are for one or two hours weekly; I have, however, repeatedly lectured three or four hours weekly. In addition to this I also have conducted a practising class (*Seminar*) two hours weekly, in which, on an average, thirty to thirty-five members have to write essays of their own, or to read papers on appointed subjects.

"The subjects treated in my lectures have been History of Missions, Introduction to the theory of Missions, Vindication of the missionary vocation of Christianity for the whole world, on grounds biblical, theological, ethnological and historical, Fundamental principles of practical missionary work, Home work on behalf of foreign Missions, Direct or indirect results of Missions, Relations of missionary work to secular science (linguistic, geographical, ethnological, comparative religious), Missions as a factor in civilisation.

"In my practising class I have treated very varied subjects connected with biblical theology (*e.g.* Missions as set forth in the discourses of Christ, the fundamental missionary conceptions of St. Paul, the Pauline method of Missions, the Acts as a missionary handbook), with missionary history (*e.g.* of individual societies, or Mission Fields, or leading missionaries) or with the theory of Missions (*e.g.* evangelistic preaching, Mission Schools, treatment of polygamy, caste, ancestral worship), the latter usually in connection with my handbook on the 'Theory of Protestant Missions.'

Of Prof. Warneck's other literary activity, always careful, stimulating and suggestive, space forbids me to say more than that his *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* founded, in co-operation with Prof. Christlieb of Bonn, in 1875, has been one of the chief agencies in promoting a scientific treatment of Missions in Germany and elsewhere.

In Scotland the United Free Church has two paid missionary lectureships. The Rev. James Buchanan, missionary secretary, writes:

"Our courses are first: Lectures on evangelistic theology, in which the philosophy and history of Missions are dealt with. The lecturer gives his course in each of our three theological colleges during the session, say five or six weeks in each. . . . All the theological students of the Church attend, say 200. Our other lectureship is filled once in three years, the lecturer being required to publish his lectures afterwards. A special subject is usually dealt with, about eight lectures being given, attendance on an average 250."

For information regarding missionary professorships and lectureships in the United States I am greatly indebted to Mr. John R. Mott, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, and to his secretary Mr. Jenkins, who have laboriously collected full particulars from which I give some extracts. In twenty Seminaries and three Universities there are ten chairs of Foreign Missions and six lectureships. In six cases the professorships of Missions are combined with cognate subjects, such as Church and general history, pastoral theology, apologetics, or comparative religion. Three professorships and five lectureships are endowed, and the total sum spent on these endowments and the "Missions Building" at Yale University amounts to over 300,000 dollars (£60,000) as near as I can estimate, exclusive of periodical gifts for lectureships.

The authorities of Hartford theological Seminary (Connecticut) lay themselves out to provide instruction in the theory and practice of Missions on a scale unequalled in any other institution with which I am acquainted. They provide for the needs of (1) regular students of the Seminary; (2) graduates who wish to spend a year in the special study of this subject; (3) Nominees of Mission Boards who are sent to acquire special training before proceeding to the field. The library and museum are specially equipped with reference to the needs of missionary students. The scope of the studies includes the theory and Scriptural basis of Missions; their apologetic value, history, methods, forms of activity, together with practical problems such as missionary hygiene and self-support: also the study of various languages of the Mission-field, Pedagogy (a most important and much neglected subject), Comparative Religion and Sociology in its bearing on Missions. Among the lecturers are scholars such as Professor Macdonald for Arabic and Professor Martin for Sanskrit. The Union Theological Seminary of New York (which has an endowment of 100,000 dollars) has also organised an elaborate course, but of this I have as yet no copy. Of Yale Mr. Mott writes:

"In November, 1905, a professorship of the theory and practice of missions was established at Yale University. The Rev. Harlan P. Beach, M.A., was elected to the professorship to assume his duties in May, 1906. Though connected with the Divinity School

of the University, work will also be done in the undergraduate academic faculty and in the graduate faculty. The terms of the professorship call for a visitation of mission-fields every three years, these countries being regarded as the professor's laboratory.

"A bequest of \$60,000 has been received by the University to be used in erecting a Missions Building and for the support of the library of missions, the largest distinctively missions library in America."

In England I can hear nothing of any such lectureship either in our own church or among protestant nonconformists or Roman Catholics. There is a small foundation known as the "James Long Lectures on non-Christian Religions" connected with the C.M.S. Somewhat similar lectures are yearly delivered in the Wesleyan college at Headingley, Leeds, and there and in the other Wesleyan colleges comparative religion is a regular part of the curriculum; so also in the Congregational colleges, ethnic religions are specially taught.

If Germany, Scotland, and America have led the way is it too much to hope that in the year 1908 the Church of England with her imperial responsibilities and world-wide efforts may determine to found at least one Chair of Foreign Missions to help to deepen, unify and extend the great work both within and without our communion? Its relation to the universities and other details would be committed to those best qualified to adjust such matters. It would surely prove a much needed aid in training missionaries and also in working towards the solution of the great problems which will come before the Pan-Anglican Conference. The foundation of one or more such missionary professorships is an object which Churchmen of every school might well support. Should it not have a first claim on the free proceeds of the great Thankoffering?

If in this article I have dealt with Foreign Missions only in their intellectual aspect, that is not to overlook the work of the Divine Spirit. He, the Lord and Lifegiver, is the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge, no less than of all other graces. For a fruitful and life-giving result of efforts to attain a deeper and clearer insight into the laws and methods of His Kingdom, it is to Him alone that we can look.

H. U. WEITBRECHT.

## “WHAT IS WRONG?”

WHAT is wrong? Something is wrong in the terrible outcry and the scanty disproportionate response for Foreign Service. The present writer is no Elihu with a solution : he only joins the anxious conference in these pages in answer to a request. He is inclined to think that nothing but a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit will cut the Gordian knot of our discussions. Every conference or proposal on this and similar problems provokes the feeling that further debating of machinery is futile ; that it is the steam-power that fails us ; that we should do best to resolve ourselves into a meeting for intercession and confession, prayer and fasting, and prayer without ceasing, for the life-giving and guiding Spirit of God.

But if there is any place for discussion, what is wrong? Look at the facts. No one having even a glancing acquaintance with missionary news, no one who uses his *Quarterly Intercession Paper*, but knows that the cry for help is bitter, that the short-handed labourers abroad are not merely breaking down in trying each to do the work of three men—that is true of men at home—but further (which can seldom be said with like truth of home workers) are breaking down at points of critical strategic importance and of vast but passing opportunity ; while the proportion of souls or of area to the single labourer is such a commonplace of the missionary address that it has ceased to be moving.

And meanwhile the writer—and possibly the reader—is ashamed to find himself one of nearly a thousand clergy serving a diocese of less than a million and a quarter of souls, and further provided with ample Nonconformist ministrations.

Such grievous discrepancies are our standing reproach : perhaps we are hardening to them. But just now, more

than ever, we must add to them the loud appeal of opportunities that come but once in the history of a people at its awakening or its resettlement, and pass irretrievably. *Pereunt et imputantur.* Japan : South Africa : India : China and Western Canada. But the current of ordained service and real devotion flows on unbroken down the old home channels, where its power is not unwanted, but less, far less wanted ; its surface rippled now, it is true, by wonderfully "increased interest in foreign missions," but as yet with no appreciable diversion of the stream.

Here is a simple and succinct account of how it happens, quoted from the letter of thirty Durham clergy referred to in Mr. Palmer's recent article :

"In four cases out of five an English priest goes to work where he chooses, not where he is sent by his leaders. However devoted he may be, his choice must naturally be based on knowledge of the spheres of work open to him ; and how many men at the time of their ordination know enough about any missionary post of work even to consider it alongside of home curacies, or to feel confidence in taking the great step if they do consider it ? And then when once at work, it is natural to the best workers to initiate no move for themselves till called to it definitely.

"It would be most unfair to assume that backwardness to go means want of self-surrender. But the right sort of man, whilst unfortunately all too ignorant about missionary needs and claims, is nearly always engrossed and happy in his work. He is not likely to throw it up and go out on a self-elected mission.

"So that in the normal current of events the reasonable and proportionate supply of men for foreign service will not be found by waiting till a sufficient number of individuals are spontaneously moved to go."

This is that "normal current of events" with which we want to interfere, and know not how.

We are not particular about the theory : we want to get something *done*—if possible on sound principles and theories from the start ; if not, then on some second best plan, which shall at least save the loss of irretrievable opportunities. That was also the aim of the Durham letter referred to ; it was not primarily a theory of procedure : it expressly disclaimed general applicability elsewhere. And it justified itself. Of the thirty original signatories nearly one-half have since gone on foreign service, many of them

being men who would not have felt justified in deciding to go without the Bishop's encouragement.

To get something done, then, where shall we practically start? What is wrong?

The Archbishops?—let us begin at the top. Perhaps the Archbishops are wrong, and ought to be pronouncing on the proportions of our Church's duties in all the world? Mr. Palmer's thoughtful article shows how properly this world-outlook belongs to the patriarchate acting in concert. Only it should be remembered that it is hopeless to expect of archbishops more than the pronouncement of main policies, with personal attention to the filling of bishoprics and a few posts of special importance. Where sound theory requires their action in detail, as regards the mission of individual clergy, that action can only be like the Sovereign's action, an official countersigning of work really administered by delegated officers or bodies.

The Diocesan Bishops—are they wrong? Do they, for instance, require of ordination candidates any rudimentary knowledge of the foreign policy, history, and methods of the Church, on the assumption that the proportion of clergy recruits who look forward to a period, at least, of foreign service should be equal to the proportion of Army recruits who do so? How many of them at their last ordination brought the question, as a possibility, before their candidates collectively? And how many of them make a practice of putting the same question individually before men when the time for "a change of experience" comes? Yet, for the most part, bishops cannot act before they have signs of some prepared response. Whatever the lay world thinks, the action of a bishop can only be relative to the attitude of his clergy: effective initiative can only come from him when the ground is prepared.

Or the Boards of Missions—are they wrong? Bishops do not think of everything. Are the Boards taking care that the above-named questions are not being forgotten at ordinations?—seeing to it with as much insistence as is compatible with respect? But what no Boards can do is to make bricks without straw. They cannot bring the grist to their own mills. The Boards are well organised, but where are the men?



Or the J.C.M.A.—is that wrong? Someone despairing in S. Africa calls it the “Society for getting others to go out.” But the J.C.M.A. did not start as a society of professed volunteers. It would be unfair and unwise to break up the influence that study and interest do contribute, through impatience that these have not led to more personal offers.

Then, in the last instance, is it we—we individually—who are wrong? After all our not unprofitable system-planning, are *we* wrong—

(i) *In our individual aim and general policy?* Fishers of men, what is our object? As fishers, to catch fish. Very well: now if on a limited reach of water, where every fish has already some opportunity of seeing the fly, you double your number of rods, do you expect to double your take of fish? But if the extra rods were moved off to other huge reaches of almost virgin water, they may double the take; aye, and more. Isn't the analogy fair? What is wrong with it? Is there much parochial water in England where the “taking” fish have not some opportunity of seeing the fly? Do you get much real extra result by securing extra curates to thrash the water above the “non-taking” fish? Is it not true that in some almost virgin waters fish in abundance are ready to take the first fly that comes? That solitary fishers there are crying out, till their hearts split, that this is so, and we do not hear?

Or is it that our object is *not* absolutely to catch fish, but to catch as many fish as we can comfortably in a certain reach we are fond of? Is that what is wrong with the analogy?

But some will say—many do say—“Is this a time to decentralise forces and weaken hands at home, when clergy are scarcer, curates harder to find than ever before: when the Church in England may be called on to meet a fiercer onslaught of secularism and sectarianism than she has yet faced: when the competition of Dissent is more active than ever, and the remaining Christianity of England in danger of being estranged from the Catholic Faith?” Well, in the last resort, which is worse?—the prevalence in this island of defective types of Christianity, or the undisturbed empire of heathenism in regions white to harvest?

But this is not all. Let those who are so fearful of the spread of imperfect types of Christianity—if they be not spiritual "Little Englanders"—mark well. Just this that they fear is happening, only on a far larger and more rapid scale, in the mission-field. Churchmen at home, knowing all too little of their own missions, are often apt wholly to ignore those of Nonconformity, and are surprised to learn that "episcopal missions" form quite an insignificant proportion of the christianisation of some British territories. You contend for individual souls here at home: there the question is, who shall occupy whole districts, and lay the lines which shall determine the future of entire communities? To a colonial priest working in a new country, Bishop Westcott said, with all his fire of conviction, "Remember, *you* are leading the van: here at home, *we* can only keep together a straggling rearguard." There is, in fact, no aspect of home needs which can be pleaded for restricting the missionary output except by refusing to contemplate such needs comparatively; and in most instances when this is done the argument will be found to turn the other way.

And yet again, the facts appealed to, home needs or—should we say—home failures, shortage of priests and indifference of people, are capable of a startlingly opposite conclusion. In answer to the question "Is this the time?" it is possible to reply, "Yes, and high time; for we have had our fair chance at home, and have strangely failed on the accepted policy." The Evangelical revival has had more than a century to spread its leaven; the Oxford Movement has had sixty years to assert the corporate application of the renewed earnestness; the Church life in our land has indeed been revived; the standard of qualification and of devotion in our priests has risen beyond question. And the result——? Are we really of opinion that Christianity in general, and the Catholic Religion in particular, is not losing its hold on the acknowledgment of the British people? After all our spiritual advance and revived effort, is it not a fact that the tone and temper of the people, so far as it may be read from their chosen representatives, is at this moment nearer to the public repudiation of a national confession of religion, by

Disestablishment, and to the driving of the Catholic Faith from the schools of the land, than ever before?

There need be no policy of despair, no shaking off of the dust of our feet; but may not the missionary call be an interpretation of our failure, a sign that the Divine blessing is not to rest on our present method of "congested fishing"? May we not stop to ask the question whether there is any connection between our spiritual low estate, our failure at home, and our inaction abroad? Is it possible that God is indicating to us that we are not working on His lines: that His blessing is being withheld from a Church that is nationally selfish? What says Proverbs xi. 24?

True, there is another side to this picture of failure: true that the quality, if not the quantity, of definite Christian faith is rising and deepening. But such devotion finds its own way to the ministrations provided and within reach of all. It does not require a many-handed ministry to nourish it, and this is not the purpose for which large staffs of ordained men are maintained at the home depôts. Oftener it is to supply district and mission-room services for people in their own street, because they will not come half a mile to the church. And often, even in these days of scarcity, priests are to be found drilling brigades, conducting clubs and Bands of Hope and keeping accounts, because with all our hard trying we cannot gain enough spiritual power to persuade our Church laity to do their proper work for God. It is this too fruitless flogging of the water which is waste while elsewhere opportunities are ripe, and the barest Church ministries not obtainable.

Moreover, where there has been wrong there must always be sacrifice. Past fault cannot be redressed at less than abnormal and painful cost. That is a spiritual law. If we have taken more than our share, ought we not to be prepared now to take less than our share, in getting right with God in this account?

Are we wrong (ii) *in our terms of self-dedication*?

It has never appeared perfectly clear to the writer that a man is truly called to Holy Orders while he makes reservation as to what part of the Church he will serve in. There is always room for mistake in analogies; but at least it seems against all analogy in the polity of an earthly

kingdom, that the regular or standing army should claim the right of mere volunteers, to serve only upon home soil. And surely the clergy, at least, ought to represent the definitely aggressive part of the Christian kingdom. If *they* cannot be mobilised, if *they* cannot be trusted to take marching orders from leaders, instead of claiming each to select his own post, then who shall go for God, and whom shall He send?

Are we wrong (iii) *in our ideas about "Vocation"?*

We recognise with reverence the delicacy of the topic. Some of us have read with sympathy Mr. Andrews' words in a recent letter to the J.C.M.A., where he draws a distinction in the degree or kind of special vocation which a man may look for before he offers his life's work to a heathen country. But, after all, what we have to deal with is a good deal of loose, if not downright insincere, talk about "vocation." In one sense the phrase is legitimate enough: there is a vocation, to every sphere of work, for the Christian servant's ear: but not, surely, in the peculiar sense in which some men use the term. Enquire if they have considered the question of foreign service, and they reply "No: they feel that is a matter of 'special vocation,' which they (though in Holy Orders) have never felt." *What* vocation? What does that phrase of refuge really mean? A vocation to the ministry, even in its lowest order—yes, and an inward vocation over and above the outward call—we understand; for the Ordinal puts it foremost. A further vocation to the priesthood we understand: and we think it includes the being God's man, at any cost, always and anywhere. But what is this further and special vocation for which we are asked to wait before we go on God's service outside these British Isles? The man who so speaks does not speak of waiting for "a special vocation" before he accepts an English curacy, or changes to an Irish benefice. Careful judgment, formed on prayer, is believed to be the normal way of making such decisions. But let the change proposed be from the present sphere to India, or even to a colony crying out for men, and instantly we are met by this demand for some further and special vocation. By what right is this distinction drawn? Is not the Church one? And so, on the

voices of God which do reach him, the man declines to exercise his studious and prayerful judgment, because he is waiting for some other kind of quasi-supernatural voice, which, it seems, rarely, if ever, comes. On so serious a subject it would be grievous to speak hastily ; but, because of its seriousness, let us see to it that our conceptions of " vocation " are clear and true to Scripture and to common sense.

This article has turned away from external schemes to ideas and personal conceptions, because the writer is convinced that, next to prayer and an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the one thing needful to any schemes is a conversion of mental attitude on the part of the individual men. The work must be done *ab intra* first : the right machinery, when it is evolved, can be employed only upon material thus prepared. As a matter of history the best forward movements of the Church have started, not with central organisation, but from the banding together of a convinced few in an association or order. The founding of the Society of Jesus in 1534, and that of the Church Missionary Society in 1799 ; John Wesley's rooms in 1729, and the Oriel Common Room of 1833, all tell the same story. The first move must come from below ; popes may direct and bishops preside, but that comes later on. Especially where authority is moral and not absolutely official it must be so. Bishops cannot lead before a certain set of their clergy have indicated readiness to respond. Even Bishop Westcott, who gave four of his own sons to the mission-field, could never have taken the initiative of sending men out unless a certain number of men had invited him to do so. By all means let us learn the lessons of Mr. Palmer's article and correct what was in that case theoretically defective. But let us begin at the right end. Let men who share convictions like (or better than) those expressed above, band themselves together in groups, and—avoiding, if possible, the creation of any new societies or names—become in fact an order within the English priesthood : an order of men dedicated to the service of God, anywhere and anyhow, as far as will and self-surrender is concerned ; though by no means without full liberty to indicate their natural leanings and limitations. Let such groups of men

see that their Bishop, in the first instance, knows who they are, and ask for spiritual direction, in whatever way shall presently seem best, as regards home or foreign service. Then, and not till then, the bishops may begin their task. They may put before each man, at his ordination, in a well-recognised sense the question whether he is taking Holy Orders on the general and traditional lines of self-direction, or in the special order of self-dedication. Then too may the bishops, archbishops, and Boards of Missions set their hand to organise a working system for direction of the volunteers.

Such system will have to include three elements :—

(a) Expert knowledge of the Church's foreign policy and particular needs.

(b) Knowledge of the man and the sort of foreign work (if any) for which he may be specially fitted.

(c) Knowledge of the work he is doing at home, and its present importance.

These three elements of knowledge can hardly ever be combined in one spiritual director, whether official or chosen by the man himself ; but there will be no insuperable difficulty in combining them in counsel.

Finally, the adding of the seal of the highest and most orthodox authority to any call or direction so given is a mere matter for formal organisation.

But all must begin from the voluntary combination of "a band of men whose hearts God has touched."

Thereafter too, as the writer thinks, the hour may perhaps come—when the men are ready—for something of a *coup*, something to arrest attention and "set the ball rolling." Consciousness of effect in the offerers would be abhorrent ; but those who lead cannot fail to take account of the advantage of infection from a *visible* move. When twenty years ago "the Cambridge Seven" went out to China, God undoubtedly wrought more through their combined example in the minds of us, their contemporaries, than if they had dribbled out silently, one after another. Such considerations might justify the bishops in selecting at one stroke a conspicuous body of men : might constitute a challenge to sacrifice their own dioceses at some costly points, and for this end to send out men whom normally

they would retain for great home service. There are, surely, some of us who would be content to go at such an hour of witness, without waiting for any further clear and adequate reason for resigning "more important" work at home.

But we cannot prescribe or dictate such issues. Such a move, if it were made, could only be made at God's *καρὸς*, when it was felt that His time was ripe. And so we come back to the Holy Spirit, in the atmosphere of Whose guidance alone can any living plans develop themselves, and on Whose inspiration and pentecostal renewal in our ranks the whole solution of this problem pre-eminently depends.

C. H. DORKING.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HYDROPHOBIA.

BRITISH crews, of whatever creed or nationality, carrying the British flag to all parts of the earth, are representatives of Great Britain and of Great Britain's faith to foreign and colonial lands.

Spiritual provision for the Church on the waters is more important for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom in the world than the religious care of any similar number of landsmen permanently resident in one place. Our blessed Lord when on earth made sailors His companions and His Apostles. His Apostles frequently made seaport towns their centres of effort, and addressed many of their epistles thereto. The Evangelists devoted much of the Gospels to Christ's doings on the sea and amongst seafaring folk.

Christian men in ancient times were seldom backward in acknowledging the Owner of the sea. And when, in the Tudor era, long voyages became frequent, the famous Merchant Adventurers and voyagers gave special directions for the conduct of daily prayers for their crews, morning and evening, as well as for worship on Sundays.

How shipping companies in the sixteenth century acted may be illustrated by reference to the

"ordinances, instructions, and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyages for Cathay, compiled, made and delivered by the Right Worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, Governor of the Myserie and Companie of the Marchants Adventurers for the discoverie of regions, dominions, islands and places unknown, the 9th day of May, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1533 . . . 13th item: That Morning and Evening prayer with other Common services appointed by the King's Majestie, and lawes of this realme to be raid and saide in every ship dayly by the Minister in the Admirall, and the Marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for His Grace



to be obtained and had by humble and hartie praier of the navigants accordingly."

Sixty-two years later Sir Francis Drake gave

"Instructions and order to be observed by the whole fleet, which departs from the port of Plymouth on August 29, 1595: (1) In the first place, omit not Divine worship, and let this order be observed twice a day, unless no opportunity offers."

Captain Luke Fox's commands to his crew, May 7, anno 1631, include:—

"(1) That all the whole company, as well Offices as others, shall duly repaire every day twice, at the call of the bell, to heare publicke prayers to be read (such as are authorised by the Church), and that in a godly and devout manner, as good Christians ought."

These instructions for Divine worship merely repeat the then ancient custom of the sea, and form the basis of the King's Regulations on this matter in the Royal Navy of to-day. So that The Missions to seamen is not introducing into the British mercantile marine something new, of its own devising, when it urges Divine worship on board the ships. Where this is done, and the Book of Common Prayer is used, the whole crew, of howsoever many nationalities and denominations, are, with a little tact, found willing to attend.

The general conduct, character, contentment and discipline of such worshipping crews are quite different from those of prayerless ships. Where misconduct and indiscipline occur under the red ensign, it will often be found that united worship is unknown. And where misconduct occurs amongst seamen landed in strange ports, it is generally in harbours where little or no spiritual provision is made by the Church for the shipping.

In our own day many active "helpers in Christ Jesus," from amongst sailors of all grades and services, show what a nation of Christian missionaries Great Britain might become if a larger proportion of those who plough the oceans, under the red cross in the British flag, were obedient to the faith, and men of prayer. This might well be so if the means of grace were more adequately provided on the waters. Then, many more seagoing men in our mercantile marine, signed with the sign of the Cross

might be found confessing the faith of Christ crucified and fighting under His banner, witnessing a good confession on the seas and sea coasts to the uttermost part of the earth. To bring about this happy, reproductive, and far-reaching result to the Kingdom of Christ throughout the world should be a great object of all who daily pray, "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Each of the thirty thousand British merchant crews is a potential congregation of faithful men in the which the pure Word of God may be preached, on the high seas and in port, as was the ancient custom of the seas, and as it still is in every one of His Majesty's ships, and in many well-commanded merchant vessels, and in certain seaports scattered over the world.

The pastoral visitation of ships does not appear to have been regarded as a regular duty of the national Church of this great maritime empire before the nineteenth century. The religious care of the crews was previously left to the initiative of individual shipowners, shipping companies, captains and officers. It was not till fifty years ago that The Missions to seamen afloat, at home and abroad, was founded as a representative of the Church on the seas. Its development has been gradually extending from port to port, till it now employs fifty-five chaplains and seventy-eight readers in seventy-three anchorages, harbours, &c. at home, and twenty-three harbours "beyond the seas." The discrepancy between chaplaincies solely for the care of British crews "beyond the seas," and those for ships in harbours at home, arose partly from the financial problem. It was always felt by The Missions to seamen that the necessities of sailors in distant harbours were far greater, and that pastoral visitation of ships, with services, etc. afloat were far more valued by the crews "beyond the seas" than in home ports. But it was easier to obtain money for chaplaincies in home waters than for those abroad. Moreover, local interest in sailor work had to be created, both in the Church and in civil life. It was not till 1897 that the Bishops assembled at Lambeth, on the suggestion of the late Bishop of Gibraltar, formally resolved, "That it is the duty of the Church to aid in providing

for the moral and spiritual needs of our seamen of the mercantile service . . . by the ministrations of clergy specially set apart for this work." Meanwhile The Missions to seamen had to prove its methods, and to overcome "ecclesiastical hydrophobia" in bringing spiritual provision on the waters within Church order extended to ships and sailors. It was not till twenty-eight years ago that the late Archbishop Tait devised a formula licensing The Missions to seamen chaplain ministering to the light-ships off the Goodwin Sands, and the fleets sheltering in the Downs off Kent. A further period of seven years elapsed before that great friend of sailors, the late Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham, advised The Missions to seamen to take counsel's opinion as to the application of the Private Chaplains' Act of 1871 to the cases of its chaplains officiating in its special seamen's churches and institutes. Hitherto the chaplains had been licensed to nominal-curacies, sometimes entirely outside the sphere of their labours. And it was only last year that so warm a friend to seamen as the Bishop of London, with an official relation to clergymen outside all dioceses, found a formula for licensing the senior chaplain of the Port of London to his work on the Thames and at the Nore.

The whole official attitude of the National Church towards the national shipping has thus been gradually changed by the example and achievements of The Missions to seamen in the course of its fifty years' service for God, for His Holy Church, and for seagoing men of all creeds and nations. These fifty years have been fruitful in good work for God, in changed lives and hearts, and call for special praise and thanksgiving.

Formerly The Missions to seamen had to bring, not to say enforce, the claims of sailors on the several local dioceses and civil authorities. But now the tables are turned, and the Bishops of dioceses abroad are claiming the ministrations of The Missions to seamen for the shipping frequenting their ports. Nine years ago, the Bishop of Wellington, N.Z., applied for help, not of money only, but of an experienced man for the shipping in his most important harbour, with the result that now a

splendid church and institute welcome crews of all nations within its walls. At Auckland, N.Z., last year, a sailor stopped the Bishop in the street, and asked him to do for crews in that port what is being well done for them by The Missions to seamen at Wellington, with the result that the Bishop, backed by the late Governor, pressed that Society to raise £200 a year for three years, to make a beginning by specially setting apart a layman on the spot for the service of the shipping in Auckland Harbour.

Seven years ago the Bishop of Calcutta urged The Missions to seamen to obtain funds for a chaplaincy on the Hooghly, and to send out an efficient clergyman. Then the Bishop of Rangoon, hearing what was being done on the waters of the neighbouring diocese, claimed like aid for the shipping frequenting Rangoon. The Church at home was applied to for means and the man, and, with the aid of the Bishop's generous contribution, an experienced chaplain was sent out last year to that somewhat hazardous pastoral work amidst exceptionally strong tides and currents.

Thirteen years ago, at the personal call of British sailors robbed at San Francisco in California, an enthusiastic young clergyman forced The Missions to seamen to send him out across the North American continent to fight the local crimps, and to stir up like enthusiasm in the American Church for souls on the waters being ruined in that iniquitous port. The American Bishops cordially received and helped him, and in due time three seamen's chaplaincies and a couple of readerships were founded on that North Pacific coast. Then the Bishop of New Westminster, hearing of this, claimed for our fellow subjects in Canada the like aid in ministering to crews in Vancouver Harbour, for which Jubilee funds are still being sought.

The Bishop of Falkland Isles, whose episcopal charge extends to all the harbours of South America, hearing from sailors of the great work done amongst them on the North Pacific Coast, put in a claim for British shipping in South American ports, that chaplains should be sent out, such as The Missions to seamen has on the North-West American

shore. The Bishop would not listen to financial suggestions for delay. He whose is the silver and the gold found hearts willing and able to give what was needed for a beginning. A most successful seamen's chaplain on the North-West American coast was asked to transfer his services for the discovery of the needs of South American harbours. Both coasts of the whole continent were given over to the discoverer, and flying visits, with the Bishop's personal enquiries and advice, have enabled the chaplain to send preliminary reports as to the great harbour of Rio de Janeiro, the British shipping on the La Plata at Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, Rosaria and Bahia Blanca, several hundred miles apart, each of which could well engage the whole time and services of a seamen's chaplain "specially set apart for this work." On the West coast, he has already visited and reported on the needs of British shipping at Valparaiso, and uncared for at Antofagasta and Iquique. He hopes soon to visit Callao, the great port of Peru. The result so far is that, whilst the discoverer will make Valparaiso Bay in Chili his centre, Jubilee funds are being sought to make a grateful beginning at Iquique on the West coast and in the La Plata ports on the East coast, by establishing a Jubilee seamen's chaplaincy for British shipping frequenting Iquique, and another for the harbour of Buenos Ayres.

As many of the ships on the La Plata River are Canadian, it is desired that Jubilee thankofferings may enable religious ministrations of some kind to be extended to these crews in their own harbours also. Enquiries are accordingly being made as to the spiritual needs of the winter ports on the Atlantic shores of the Dominion, in which to plant a Jubilee seamen's chaplaincy.

Meanwhile, even more urgent claims come from the British shipping in a South African port. The splendid work begun in South African waters, nine years ago, by the Rev. Alan Williams at his own charges, till The Missions to seamen was able to support a Capetown chaplaincy, has led to the dedication, on Trafalgar centenary day by the Archbishop of Capetown, of one of the finest seamen's churches and institutes in the world, following on

a still grander spiritual Church of souls built up on board passing ships.

The Bishop of Lebombo, hearing of what is being done for shipping of all nations in Table Bay, urges The Missions to seamen to "come over and help" British shipping in Delagoa Bay, about eight hundred miles distant from Capetown. Better known to landsfolk as Lorenzo Marques, it is a Portuguese colonial settlement, which forms a great seagate to the Transvaal. With a vile and immoral reputation for the ruin of sailors, in body and soul, its primary claim to Jubilee offerings for a real Mission to the crews is incontestable ; so that The Missions to seamen has no option but to put forward with all urgency the claims of our comrades when in Delagoa Bay, rightly urged upon it by the Bishop, the British Consul, and other leading authorities in South Africa. In anticipation of Jubilee funds being provided, a gifted chaplain is being sought to be " specially set apart for this work."

The great anchorage of Singapore has been for more than thirty years vainly claiming the attention of The Missions to seamen. A great port of call, midway between India and China, and a coaling port, it commands the entrance to the China Sea. Large numbers of the British steamers calling in are manned by heathen crews with European officers, petty officers, &c., many of whom have no united Christian worship from year to year during the whole period of their service at sea. In some of these native manned vessels, in which the Christians never worship God, Mahommedan or heathen worship is regularly observed. It is not unusual for the European officers and petty officers, &c. on board such a British steamer to number twelve to twenty men. The peril to the faith of these non-worshippers, living in the midst of heathen surroundings, is very real. A Mission-spirited seamen's chaplain, helped by native catechists, might be untold blessings to the Christian as well as the heathen world on board ships calling at that great anchorage. This would be a great Jubilee thankoffering to God for seamen.

The long voyage ships from England and America, trading with Australia, are, by the special requests of the Archbishops of Sydney and Melbourne, and of the late Bishop of Newcastle, ministered to by The Missions to seamen chaplains "specially set apart for this work," in Sydney Harbour, Melbourne River and Docks, and Newcastle Harbour, New South Wales. But the Church does nothing afloat for the some 30,000 to 40,000 seamen in British ships visiting each of the ports of Fremantle, Adelaide and Brisbane. For the shipping in those three Australian ports it is hoped that Jubilee chaplaincies may be founded.

The continental port most frequented by British shipping is the port of Antwerp. Here for fourteen years The Missions to seamen has maintained a perpetual struggle with Belgian crimps, and all the abominable arts and grievous sins which crimping inflicts on British sailors in a foreign land. One chaplain and two readers are giving their whole time and service to ministrations afloat and ashore, exclusively amongst sailors. The services of a second chaplain are greatly needed, and this it is hoped may be provided by the present Jubilee effort of The Missions to seamen.

In all, it is hoped that the Jubilee thankofferings may reach £10,000, so that ten of the many spiritually destitute harbours abroad may be occupied for the Church by "clergy specially set apart for this work;" and that several ports at home, as well as abroad, may receive a much needed strengthening of their several staffs.

These Jubilee thankofferings concern the whole Church, as the seamen are its representatives on every seaboard. Church work on the waters is no longer an experiment. Its conditions are well ascertained, its difficulties mastered, its blessings experienced. The favour of God has rested upon it, its opportunities are manifold, its possibilities unmeasurable.

The writer can look back to personal religious life at sea for twelve years before The Missions to seamen was founded in 1856. Looking back in this, its Jubilee year, upon the moral and spiritual provision made for men of the

sea during its fifty years of effort, he is fully persuaded that of no class of seamen can it be wisely said "that the former days were better than these." The Lord seems thus to say to His Church, as to the children of Israel by the Red Sea, with the waves in front and the foe behind, "Go forward!"

Yet when we "look towards the sea" and on what is left undone for the nourishment of the souls of sailors, not merely in the roadsteads, harbours and docks of these islands, but upon the high seas and in many ports abroad, on the waters of our colonies and of foreign lands, it seems as if the way to minister to sailors, fishermen and bargemen on their own element had only now been found out by the Church, and that its practical application had only just been begun; for on many seaboard and riversides of the world the resolve of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops, in 1897, has got to be made known, "That it is the duty of the Church to aid in providing for the moral and spiritual needs of our seamen of the mercantile service . . . by the ministrations of clergy specially set apart for this work."

No doubt finances are a difficulty. Yet He who gave The Missions to seamen well over £50,000 in its fiftieth year can easily double the sum, if we have faith to ask and to receive it. Suppose that in answer to the earnest prayer of His believing people, looking toward the sea, "O Lord, revive Thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make it known," He multiplied the resources of the Society sixfold, and gave His presence and blessing to His work and His workers afloat. What grand things might be done for "the Holy Church throughout all the world" by the living example of devout sailors telling out among the heathen that Christ is King! Is it not a prayer befitting men of the sea in this Jubilee year of their Missions, as well as of landsfolk, "God be merciful to us and bless us, and cause Thy face to shine upon us; that Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations"?

Imagine the commerce of the world dedicated to God, and realising the Prince Consort's motto on the Royal Exchange, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness



thereof ;" the Church claiming that "the sea is His ;" the British Empire recognising that it is "the Lord which maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters ;" might we not confidently expect "the abundance of the sea to be converted unto God"? Then might seamen of many nations "sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise from the end of the earth ;" a glorious song of praise from them "that go down to the sea, and all that is therein."

W. DAWSON.

## DR. BRAY AND HIS TIMES.

IN the group of Churchmen of the latter part of the seventeenth century, whose memories are unlikely to fade, so long as the Church of England is not unthankful for the grace exhibited in her saints, the central place must be assigned to Dr. Thomas Bray, though John Evelyn, Robert Boyle, and Robert Nelson among the laity, not to mention many of the bishops and clergy, may be more generally known.

It was a strange time in the religious history of England. Externally the incidents in the Church's life were less striking than those in previous stages. But in many respects the position was as critical as any in which religion has found itself in this country. There was then, as there always is, a conflict between the evil and the good, but there seemed to be a victory for the former throughout the nation among all classes and ranks of people.

Without attempting to say what period was better or worse in the scale of faith and morals than the reign of King William III., we may briefly consider its relation to what had gone before.

Immediately before the Reformation, the Church of England had more spiritual power than has been commonly supposed. But it is beyond dispute that her condition not only demanded reform from error and superstition, but needed quickening. This quickening in no small degree the Reformation supplied, whilst in other ways it produced the opposite effect. Personal religion in many people suffered a shock when the rites and practices to which it had been allied lost their emphasis, or ceased altogether. The instability of doctrine during the phases of Henry VIII.'s reign, the violent changes under his son,

the Marian reaction, and the return to Reformation principles under Elizabeth, must have left—as we in fact know they did leave—a large proportion of the people indifferent to almost all aspects of religion, except such as touched their temporal security or advantage, or their spirit of patriotism. The old rules and discipline of the mediæval church were weakened, if not removed, and their place was not easily filled. It should always be a subject for thankfulness in England that the Reformation, which was so full of spiritual peril, took place here with such manifest guidance and blessing from God. The Tudor period was one of great coarseness, and yet, in spite of all adverse circumstances, there was a triumph for truth and goodness. The Reformation brought spiritual and moral gains.

But the cause of the Church did not emerge with complete safety from that process. Foreign reformers had weakened the Church by inducing non-conformity within her communion, as well as separation from it. The Civil War was more religious than political, and ended in the Church's rejection by parliament, the removal and persecution of her clergy, and the proscription of her formularies. For the formation of the character of the nation the ordeal was severe. Puritanism as a direct agent for good was scarcely successful, while indirectly it provoked reaction that overwhelmed it. The Restoration brought in a period of profligacy. The bright feature of that time was the saintliness, learning, and wisdom of the bishops and leading Churchmen. But it pleased God to permit the Church to pass through two more experiences of trial before she could effectively exercise her pastoral office. First, she was staggered by finding in the sovereign, whose cause had been identified with her own, an enemy in the person of James II. Then, under his successor, the expulsion of the Nonjurors had eliminated the holiest and most learned of her sons.

We seem to have traveled far to reach Dr. Bray and his times. But this survey of the preceding ages may help us to recall the fact that the Church had for some time been hindered in working for righteousness. She had reached a stage when her own vitality was impaired, and the forces of evil had increased. Contemporary descriptions of the

state of morals reveal not only much wickedness, but an absence of shame, and a general approval of badness. It was the hour of chill before the dawn.

Those whose hearts were grieved were led as their first step to form those organisations which were called "Religious Societies." Their design was, first, that of seeing to their own faithfulness, and then of working for others. In the preface to his "Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England" Robert Nelson explains their motive :

"I think it is a great Piece of Justice to acknowledge and commend the Pious and Devout Practices of the Religious Societies; who in this point [i.e. the observance of Fasts and Festivals] as well as in many others distinguish themselves by their regular Conformity and Obedience to the Laws of the Church; for they constantly attend the public Assemblies upon such holy Seasons. And till they can communicate regularly in their own Parish Churches upon such Days, they embrace those Opportunities that are provided, there being two Churches in London [St. Mary le Bow, and St. Dunstan in the West] employed for that Purpose; where they as duly receive the Blessed Sacrament upon all Festivals, as they perform all the other Acts of public Worship. How they spend their Vigils in preparing their Minds for a due Celebration of the ensuing Solemnity, is more private, but not less commendable."

He goes on to describe how they met and consulted together, to improve one another in Christian knowledge "and by mutual Advice take Measures how best to further their own Salvation, as well as promote that of their Neighbours."

These men were indeed the salt of the earth. The "Societies" grew from their first beginning in 1678 until, as we read in an account published in 1699, there were thirty-nine of them in or about London and Wesminster, and several in other parts of the country, besides ten in Ireland.

They had to face direct opposition and abuse, while the evils which they desired to overcome are described by Nelson himself as "crying Abominations, which like a torrent have overspread the Nation." It seems clear that wickedness had gone beyond the stage of Charles II.'s reign. Evelyn's

Diary, though he speaks plainly of that King's time, does not paint such a picture of it as he draws later. In 1699, for instance, he speaks of "such horrible robberies and murders as had not been known in this nation ; atheism, profaneness, blasphemy amongst all sorts, portended some judgment if not amended." Two years previously King William issued a proclamation against the "open and avowed practice of Vice, Immorality and Prophaneness."

Another step was taken by earnest men, which concerns our present subject less closely, although Dr. Bray joined them. They began in 1691 to form "Societies for the Reformation of Manners," the main object of which was securing the enforcement of the law of the land against evil doers. However good their purpose was, and however successful they may have been in achieving it, the religious quickening of a nation was to be brought about by other means.

It was the "Religious Societies" which in their quietness and confidence bore fruit, and our admiration for their members should be all the greater when we realise that they persevered, although matters grew worse and worse.

Thomas Bray, who was to take a leading part in dealing with this religious crisis, had been born in 1656 at Marton in Shropshire. He was educated at Oswestry Grammar School and Hart Hall, Oxford. After his ordination he came under the influence of Kettlewell, whose devotional works were, by the confession of all who knew him, the expression of his own piety. Bray seems to have kept himself free from the politico-religious entanglements of the age. Although his friend and counsellor was deprived of his benefice as a non-juror, Bray was able to accept the rectory of Sheldon vacated by the ejection of another non-juror. The intensity of his aim seems to have made him concentrate all his endeavour on practical religious enterprises.

At Sheldon he wrote his "Catechetical Lectures," and so large was their circulation that he became, almost at once, a man of note. In 1696 the Bishop of London being desired to send a Commissary to Maryland, "the reputation Mr. Bray had acquired by his lectures, and the other

qualities that adorned his function," as his biography<sup>1</sup> published sixteen years after his death puts it, "hindered the Bishop from being one Moment at a Loss for a fit Person to model that infant Church, and establish it on a solid Foundation."

It took rather more than a moment for means to be found for sending him. There were difficulties, legal, and financial. While detained in England he found missionaries, sent them out, and furnished them with libraries. At last—all other means of providing for his own support failing—he with "no allowance made him towards the charge of the voyage, and the service he was to do, was forced to dispose of his own small effects, and raise money on credit," so as to sail on December 16, 1699.

But the intervening time had not been wasted. Before Dr. Bray was born, children had been taught religion, missionary purposes had been associated with schemes of colonization, and libraries had been accessible to the clergy. Nevertheless, it may be said without material inaccuracy that those three years witnessed in the Church of England the birth of the religious education of the children of the poor, the birth of foreign missionary enterprise, and the birth of a system for aiding and stimulating the studies of the clergy.

And these three things were produced by Dr. Bray's gathering his friends around him, and by his own industry, zeal, and self-sacrifice.

In the valuable volumes,<sup>2</sup> which the S.P.C.K. brought out at the time of their Bicentenary, the beginnings of that Society are fully described. The first meeting was held on March 8, 1698-9, and was attended by five persons—Lord Guilford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Mr. Justice Hook, Dr. Bray, and Colonel Colchester. Of these Dr. Bray was the only clergyman. They met no fewer than eight times before the 19th of April, when they agreed on their "Preamble" that

<sup>1</sup> *Publick Spirit Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Rev. Thomas Bray, D.D.*"

<sup>2</sup> *History of the S.P.C.K. 1698-1898*; and *A Chapter in English Church History. S.P.C.K. Minutes and Correspondence, 1698-1704.*

"Whereas the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion, wee whose names are underwritten do agree to meet together, as often as we can conveniently, to consult (under the conduct of the Divine Providence and assistance) how we may be able by due and lawful methods to promote Christian knowledge."

To this the signatures of those who joined them, as well as their own, were attached.

For the account of the growth of the S.P.C.K. and its manifold activities we must refer to those two books with their interesting records. For our immediate purpose it is sufficient to note that they resolved at their first meeting to consider a design for erecting "Catechetical Schools" in each parish in and about London, and they soon were able to elicit local support, and to establish numerous schools, not only in London, but all over the country.

But Dr. Bray had begun another important work before he founded the S.P.C.K. In the interests of the church in the "Plantations," or Colonies of North America he provided libraries for the clergy who were sent there. To a great extent he did this at his own expense; but soon he found that he must solicit the help of others, and included libraries for the clergy in England in his scheme, which was intended to provide a lending library in each rural deanery. A considerable number were soon established. His friends who worked with him in this endeavour were called his "Associates," and became legally enrolled under that title. This was necessary that they might act as trustees both for the money raised for the clerical libraries, and for a fund which was the gift of a resident at the Hague, M. Abel Tassin, the Sieur d'Allone. He had met him on the occasion of his going to Holland to solicit the protection of William III. for his designs. D'Allone gave a considerable sum in his lifetime, and increased it by a still larger bequest, his chief object being to assist in the work among negroes. The "Associates" who have continued their labours without interruption to the present day, have, in addition to 170 libraries which have become practically extinct, 130 in England and Wales, and 150 abroad. They received last December from the Charity

Commissioners some amendments of their Constitution, and are now hoping to obtain additional subscriptions, to develop their work, and especially to provide each year supplies of books for clerical libraries in England.

With regard to missions to the heathen we may trace the following sequence. Dr. Bray from the first regarded the Maryland call as missionary. He gave and advanced money for sending men out. At his instance the S.P.C.K. opened a fund for this object. It was soon found that for such a purpose a body with the status of a corporation was desirable, if not necessary. Endeavour was made to have the S.P.C.K. incorporated with this view ; but the plan proved impracticable. On his return in 1700 from America he took the steps which led to the incorporation of the S.P.G. He secured the interest and co-operation of Archbishop Tenison and the Bishop (Compton) of London. The famous Resolution of Convocation was passed on March 13, 1701. Two days later he presented a petition to King William III. on the subject. The S.P.C.K. (which had cordially supported him all through) took pains in the drafting of the Charter, and paid the charges for it. The Archbishop approached the King on the subject, and on June 16, 1701, it was granted. From the first, the S.P.G. regarded itself as called to the duty of evangelising the heathen, and this was brought out in its first anniversary sermon. Indeed, as early as 1710 the Society resolved that this work ought to be carried on "preferably to all" other endeavour. All these matters are related at length in Mr. Pascoe's "Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G."

Even the mention of the foundation of these three Societies, which have lived and worked to the present time, leaves untold several of the activities of Dr. Bray. Forty-six years before Howard visited prisons, Bray was active for the spiritual and temporal welfare of their inmates, ministering to them, raising money for them, and leading Parliament to inquire into abuses in the administration of prisons.

He endeavoured to promote the revival of discipline in the organic life of the Church. Sailors, too, especially those of the Royal Navy, were the objects of his care.



This work, and that among prisoners, the S.P.C.K. made to be its own. Problems that perplex us at the present day he faced, such as that of the "unemployed" in England, for which emigration to the colonies was one of his remedies. The preparation, or "probation" of those intended for foreign missionary work occupied much of his own time. For it and also for keeping up additional services in populous parishes in London, he made provision in his will. The greater part of that elaborate document, however, relates to that aspect of Church work which was most dear to his heart during his life, whatever the matter in hand may have been. Christian knowledge and reading, books and libraries—the power of these for good was always present to his mind. A man without any private means beyond the profits of the sale of his own works and his ecclesiastical income, he was always determined not to let a good scheme fail for lack of money, if he could save the situation by advancing it. Constantly we come upon the records of moneys—now £200, now £631, very large sums in those days—which were owing to him, and of his own means being entirely exhausted. In a petition<sup>1</sup> which he presented to the King in 1704, he stated that he had already founded thirty libraries in the "Plantations" for the clergy, besides sending several thousands of "Catechisms, Common Prayer, and other practical and devotional books" for the people, "at a cost of £2,000 and upwards, towards which benefactions have not yet arisen to above £1,500." He provided many more clerical libraries after these, and was particularly anxious for their establishment in all the rural deaneries of England. In the Isle of Man it is said that there are still remnants of eighteen libraries which he founded in concert with the sainted Bishop Wilson.

Of his literary works the chief was his "*Bibliotheca Parochialis*," which stands as a monument of learning. It relates not to parish libraries, but to libraries for the use of the parochial clergy. Under the headings of various subjects, systematically grouped and subdivided, he gives a list, which must have been almost exhaustive, of innumer-

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth Palace MSS. 941 (Article 71).

able books, describing their contents, in several cases appending comments of his own, and quoting those of other writers. Pastoral theology, commentaries and other works aiding the study of the Bible, ecclesiastical and general history; the Fathers, Councils, and liturgies; apologetics and controversial literature; "Concionatory Divinity," and all sorts of help for preaching, and other departments of the clergyman's duties are presented in detail. The sense of the value of such libraries was always dominant with him, and the Society with which his name is especially linked—that of his "Associates"—has, as we have seen, the establishment of clerical libraries for its aim.

The object of this paper has been not so much to tell the story of his life, as that of indicating the place in the history of the Church of England occupied by Dr. Bray. We may, however, in conclusion enumerate a few of the facts. He had worked in four places after his ordination before he became in 1690 the Rector of Sheldon. When it was necessary for him to be much in London, he was offered the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate. He declined it, but was at length induced to accept it, and soon started additional services, and took other means for the benefit of the dense population. We have mentioned two of his writings. He evidently published several books—among them were "Apostolick Charity" (an appeal for the Church in Maryland), "Directorium Missionarium," "Primordia Bibliothecaria," Lives of Rawlet and Gilpin, Martyrologies, and volumes of lectures and sermons. He also issued reprints of Erasmus' "Ecclesiastes," and other books.

He died on February 15, 1730. At his funeral it is believed that the directions in his will were observed:

"I expressly Order and Direct my Funeral to be in the most private and least expensive manner the charges whereof not to exceed Ten Pounds the Materials for my Funeral already provided being included A Depositum for wh. is Lodg'd in the Hands of Thomas Grove the Undertaker This that the more may be provided for pious and Charitable Uses.

It was characteristic of the man.

Since 1892 his portrait has adorned the Board Room of the S.P.G. It had been preserved in the family of his patron, Lord Digby, whose descendant, his Honour Judge Kenelm Digby, then presented it to the Society. To those who are continuing what he began it is a reminder of the life and example of one to whom the Church of England owes more than can ever be fully told.

E. P. SKETCHLEY.

## THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT.

It has sometimes been objected that too much attention should not be paid to missionary enterprise until the needs of Christian work at home have been fully met, and that when these needs have been met then it will be fitting to think of expending effort upon work further afield. The rise of the Student Christian Movement bears striking testimony to the fact that missionary effort often reacts most beneficially upon the work at home, causing it to expand in new directions with increased vitality.

The Student Christian Movement in Great Britain was at first solely a missionary movement. Like all movements, its rise may be attributed to a number of contributory causes. The work of Professor Henry Drummond in Scotland; the going forth to China of the "Cambridge Seven"; and tidings of a religious movement among American students were factors which helped to create an atmosphere in which it became easy to foster a religious movement on a large scale in the universities and colleges of Great Britain. The final impulse which issued in definite organisation came from the students of North America, who sent a representative to England in 1887 to tell of what had been done in their country. The organisation which grew out of this visit was a society called the *Student Foreign Missionary Union*. Its object was distinctly missionary in character, being stated in these words: "To band together students who feel called to foreign missionary work, and to urge the claims of the heathen upon Christian students everywhere, and to advocate the formation of missionary associations in connection with the various universities and colleges where they do not already exist." This Union at first promised to be a success, but its organisation seems to have been somewhat indefinite, and it had no regular officers to carry out its policy. When, therefore,

Mr. Wilder, of the American Movement, visited England in 1891, this Union was in a languishing condition, although in individual universities and colleges the tide of missionary interest was steadily rising. Mr. Wilder visited a number of colleges, and the result was a conference of student leaders at Edinburgh University in April 1892. At that conference the Student Foreign Missionary Union was merged in a new organisation, the *Student Volunteer Missionary Union*. The universities and colleges represented at this Conference were Oxford, Cambridge, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Belfast. The control of the newly formed union was entrusted to an executive of four students representing England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and London respectively. The chief object of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union was declared to be to lay before college men and women the claims of the mission field as a sphere for a life work, and to enrol as members those who purpose to become foreign missionaries. As it is intended to describe the Student Volunteer Missionary Union more fully than the other departments of the Student Christian Movement, we shall leave it for the present and return to it again after having given a brief outline of the rise and progress of the other activities of the movement.

When the S. V. M. U. had been duly organised and a travelling secretary appointed to visit the colleges, to create interest in missionary work, and enrol students as members of the Union, it was found that a serious drawback to a thorough canvass of the British student field on behalf of missions was the absence of any suitable organisation in the majority of universities and colleges. The older universities, such as Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Durham, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, had in each case one or more religious societies among the students, but these colleges contained less than a fourth of the students of the United Kingdom. The universities and colleges in which the remaining three-fourths of British students were studying had no religious society of any kind. In these it was impossible to recruit for the mission-field until something should be done to draw together Christian students. This fact, together with a gradually awakening conscious-

ness of the religious needs of large numbers of students, led to a conference of college men and women being called in the summer of 1893. A hundred delegates attended, and it was decided to found another Union, the object of which should be to draw together Christian students in the colleges, in order that they might help one another in the Christian life, and unite to bring the claims of Jesus Christ before their fellow-students. The control of this Union was placed in the hands of a small executive of students, and another student was appointed to travel in the colleges in the interests of the new Union. When this officer had collected full information about the student field, it was discovered that while there were nearly two hundred universities and colleges in the British Isles, in only twenty was there any organised religious society among the students. Vigorous efforts were made to found Christian Unions in as many colleges as possible; to this end the services of the travelling secretary were continued, as was also the Summer Conference. It is not possible to describe in detail the growth of the movement from these beginnings; we must leave this history to be gathered from other sources.<sup>1</sup> Here we can only give a brief account of whereunto this has grown. The Union has been completely reorganised once, and re-named twice, chiefly because it had outgrown in size and in scope both its original organisation and its original name. It is now known as the *Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*. This movement, as at present constituted, has three departments—"The General College Department," the "Theological College Department," and the "Student Volunteer Missionary Union."

The General College Department affiliates Christian Unions in universities and colleges other than theological colleges. There are now affiliated to it 122 Christian Unions, with a membership of about 4,500 students. The control of the department is in the hands of a student executive elected each year at the Summer Conference of

<sup>1</sup> *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland; its Origin, Development and Present Position*, by H. W. Oldham, 1/-; also *The Student Christian Movement*, 3d. Both published at the offices of the Movement, 22 Warwick Lane, London, E.C.

the Movement. The executive appoint annually three student secretaries, who give their whole time to the work of the department. The work of a Christian Union in an individual college is carried on by a committee and officers elected locally. Each union is autonomous. The activities of each are, as a rule, general meetings, prayer meetings, Bible circles, and in some cases social study circles. Evangelistic effort by means of a series of meetings or by personal work has also a prominent place. The Bible circle is the chief activity of the great majority of Unions. Text-books giving suggestions for daily private study are provided by the Movement, and in the Bible circles groups of about eight students come together once a week to discuss the results of their daily study. There are at present over 3,500 students in these Bible study circles, and we have good reason for saying that many hundreds of students, as they leave college each year, look back upon these Bible circles as the most helpful factor in their spiritual lives during college days.

The theological college department has affiliated to it societies in forty-two theological colleges. It serves to bring theological students into touch with the whole Movement, arranges special sessions for them at the annual Summer Conference and gives such help as these colleges may ask for in missionary study and in the study of social problems. Theological colleges have in many cases profited from their contact with the Movement just as much as other colleges, though in a different way. The emphasis in the Movement on devotional Bible study, and the appeal of its whole atmosphere and spirit to men to make their consecration to God real, and to keep their ideals of sacrifice and service high, has helped to counteract that tendency to a narrow outlook and professional spirit which so easily creeps into the life of a theological student. Although in some ways it is harder to put on paper what the Movement has done for theological students than what it has done for other students, there is probably no class of student which has derived more help and inspiration from it than theological students. There are many men among the junior clergy to-day who would bear out this statement. Of the remaining department, the S.V.M.U., we shall hear more later.

The basis of the Movement, which is accepted by voting members and officers, is, "I desire, in joining this Union, to declare my faith in Jesus Christ as my Saviour, my Lord and my God." This basis was adopted as being not so much theological as personal, and at the same time making a belief in the Divinity of our Lord the centre of the work. The actual wording of the basis is due to the suggestion of Dr. J. O. F. Murray, the Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, who was present at the Conference at which it was adopted. The Movement has central offices in London, and the Student Executive who control it are aided by seven secretaries, all graduates, who give their whole time to the work. Six of these secretaries are appointed for one year, the General Secretary being engaged for a longer term of service. A Summer Conference is an annual institution. Last year over 600 students were present. A magazine, the *Student Movement*, is issued during the nine months of the academic year. Local conferences are planned to aid the work from time to time, and evangelistic meetings are held occasionally, such as those of last year at Oxford and Cambridge conducted by Mr. J. R. Mott.

The history of the Movement has shown how much need there is for it in college life. Students are a class apart. Experience has shown more plainly than any amount of argument that they can best be reached by their fellow-students; they have access to them; they understand them. And only those who have worked in close touch with the Movement know the numbers of students who have been strengthened in the Faith and the numbers who have been rescued, some from doubt and some from sin, through the instrumentality of this Movement.

No account of the Student Christian Movement would be complete without some reference, however slight, to the World's Student Christian Federation, with which it is affiliated. Two years after our British Movement came into existence, the idea occurred to the leaders of Christian work amongst Scandinavian students that if it was good to band students together in national groups it might also be a help to band them together internationally



Delegates from four existing student movements—namely, those of North America, Great Britain, Germany, and some scattered unions in mission lands—met with the leaders of the Scandinavian Movement at Wadstena Castle in Sweden, 1895, and there the World's Student Christian Federation was founded. It is directed by a committee consisting of two representatives from each national movement, and its General Secretary, Mr. John R. Mott, is now well known in all missionary circles. Besides federating national student movements and promoting intercourse amongst them by means of a Biennial Conference and the circulation of literature, the Federation has been largely instrumental in founding national movements in Australasia, China, Korea and Hongkong, Belgium, France, Holland and Switzerland, India and Ceylon, Japan, and South Africa. The Federation has kept its secretary, Mr. Mott, travelling continually among the students of the world, and has recently appointed a woman student, Miss Ruth Rouse, for special work in women's colleges. Past student-leaders at work in different countries act as correspondents of the Federation, and there is not a country in the world in which the problems of Christian work amongst students are not being studied by Federation leaders. Christian unions exist in many countries where there is as yet no national movement, such as Italy, Hungary, and Russia. These unions are all in touch with the Federation, and in a few years we may hope that there will not be any country which will not have a Student Christian Movement related to the World's Student Christian Federation.

This Federation is just ten years old, and it has at present in its affiliated movements about 2,000 college Christian unions with a membership of over 105,000 students and professors—a large figure when one remembers that these students are not members for life, but only while they are in college, and that therefore the entire membership of the Federation is completely renewed about once every four years, which is the average length of a student generation. As with our own movement, a feature of the whole Federation is the devotional study of the Bible. Last year no less than 58,000 students were enrolled in

regular Bible-study classes, membership of which is regarded as pledging men to the daily private study of some portion of Holy Scripture. Missionary study and the study of social problems have also attracted the attention of large numbers of students. The basis of the whole Federation is a belief in Jesus Christ as Saviour and God. No national movement is admitted unless it accepts a basis which affirms the Divinity of Jesus Christ. This brief notice of the work of the Federation must suffice here. Those who want to know more can secure full information on the subject, as the Federation issues each year, in a small volume, a series of reports from each of the affiliated national movements.<sup>1</sup>

We now return to consider, in the space which remains, the work of the S.V.M.U. as probably being the department of most interest to readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*.

The S.V.M.U., as the missionary department of the movement in Great Britain, is continually keeping the claims of missionary work before students. Those who decide to become missionaries it enrolls as members. These sign the declaration: "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary." Any student who is over seventeen years of age, and is studying at a recognised university or college, being willing to sign this declaration, is eligible for membership. The Union seeks to forward its object by employing two student travelling secretaries, by a missionary conference held every fourth year—such have been held at Liverpool (1896), London (1900), and Edinburgh (1904); also by the circulation of literature and by missionary study. This Union has been the pioneer of missionary study in this country. Its plan of outline studies, and missionary bands, has been adopted by many missionary societies, Clergy Unions and other organisations. It will be seen, therefore, that it not only secures missionaries, but is also helping to strengthen the base of missions at home by educating in missionary

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the World's Student Christian Federation*, held at Zeist (Holland), 1905, price 1s. net, obtainable at Student Christian Movement Office, 22 Warwick Lane, London, E.C.

subjects students who do not intend to go abroad, but who are entering different professions in this country.

The Union, in common with the American volunteer movement, has adopted as its watchword "The evangelisation of the world in this generation." This watchword has proved of great value as a rallying cry. It has stimulated thought; it has called forth sacrifice; and has proved an inspiration in many lives. The fact that it has been criticised, and that it obviously needs definition and explanation if it is not to be misunderstood, has rendered it none the less valuable as a watchword calling the members of the Union to press forward. It has been adopted as being not in any sense a prediction, but rather the expression of an ideal.

Since the Union was founded fourteen years ago 2,563 students have become members, and of these 1,120 have gone to the mission-field. It should here be distinctly stated that the Union does not send out any missionaries. It conceives its work to be the securing of recruits for the existing societies; and the societies it specially desires to help are the great denominational societies. The Union advises its members to seek appointment under the recognised society of their own religious denomination. One-third of the membership of the Union is Anglican, a little under one-third Presbyterian, and a little over one-third Nonconformist. It may be of interest here if we give a brief analysis of the Anglican statistics of the Union. 861 Anglican students have become members of the Union: of these, there are 305 art students (many of whom will go on to theology), 278 theological, 206 medical, thirty-two science, twenty normal, five engineering, seven fine art, five missionary training, and three law students. These students may be classified as follows:

	Men	Women
Now in College . . . . .	109	54
In further preparation . . . . .	58	38
At work on the Mission Field . . . . .	223	95
Temporarily hindered . . . . .	52	20
Permanently hindered . . . . .	52	18
Withdrawn . . . . .	60	21
Unclassified or missing . . . . .	42	12
Dead . . . . .	4	3
Total . . . . .	600	261
Grand total . . . . .	861	

Those who have been permanently hindered in the great majority of cases are hindered through being unable to pass the medical examination of the Society to which they offered. With reference to those who have withdrawn, we may say that most of those withdrew in the early days of the Union. The number of withdrawals nowadays is very small. Of the 318 Anglican students who have sailed to the mission-field, the majority have gone abroad under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, the South American Missionary Society, and the London Jews' Society, while a few have gone under interdenominational Societies, such as the China Inland Mission and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The analysis given of the Anglican membership of the Union, if multiplied by three, would give an approximately accurate analysis of the statistics for the whole Union. One interesting fact is that a careful investigation by Mr. John R. Mott goes to show that a very large proportion of these students would not have given themselves to missionary work had it not been for the influence of the S.V.M.U.

Another interesting feature of the Union consists in the fact that its leaders have from the first steadily pressed out themselves to the mission-field. Since its inception the Union has had seventy students as members of executive and officers. Of these, forty-five are now at work abroad, seventeen are at present either on the executive or are preparing to sail, one is temporarily hindered, four permanently hindered, three of these by health, and three have withdrawn.

It ought not to be forgotten that other national movements have their volunteer departments, and that up to the present these combined have sent about 4,500 students to the mission-field.

The Student Movement in England has cause to be grateful to the leaders of the Church of England for much sympathy and help and sometimes for good advice. The Committee on Foreign Missions of the Lambeth Conference in 1897 referred to the Union in these words :

"Your Committee observe with gratitude that a very large number of students in universities and colleges throughout the world have realised so keenly the call to missionary work that they have enrolled themselves in a Student Volunteer Missionary Union, and have taken as their watchword 'The evangelisation of the world in this generation.' A large number of these students are members of the Anglican Communion, and it seems the plain duty of that Communion to provide channels through which such newly awakened zeal may find outlets in earnest, sound, and wise work."

Other Anglican societies, notably the S.P.G. and C.M.S., on being approached in relation to this Movement, passed very cordial resolutions. As we are writing in a review published by the S.P.G., we may perhaps be allowed to recall the resolution of that Society :

"The Standing Committee, having heard the statement from the deputation of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, desires to express its gratitude to Almighty God for the noble effort which is being made to promote the Missionary spirit in universities and colleges, especially in leading young men and women to give their lives definitely to the work of the foreign mission-field."

Students who are members of the Church of England have always had a prominent place among the leaders of the Movement, and at conferences and other meetings two Archbishops of Canterbury, two Bishops of London, many other occupants of the Episcopal bench, and a large body of Anglican Clergy, have rendered personal service to the Movement.

A word about the *personnel* of the Movement may be of interest. In it are found students of every faculty—theology, medicine, arts, science, law, engineering, teaching, fine art, and music. They represent a variety of denominations, members of all denominations who accept the Divinity of our Lord being admitted to membership. The question may arise as to whether this mixture of denominations does not cause difficulty. This has not been the case, because the Movement has been careful to remain absolutely extra-ecclesiastical. It is not in any sense a Church. Some have compared it to an interdenominational missionary society, thus failing to appreciate its true position. A missionary society must inevitably perform the functions of a Church, herein differing from the Student Movement.

There have been many students who have taken a leading share in the Movement who would under no circumstances work under an interdenominational missionary society. For a clear policy on this point the Movement owes a debt of gratitude to the late Bishop Creighton. In 1898 a deputation of Anglican students who expected to take Holy Orders waited on Bishop Creighton, who was then Bishop of London, to ask him whether he thought there was anything in the constitution of the Movement which might make it difficult or improper for students who desired to be entirely loyal to the Church of England to join it. The Bishop went into the matter very carefully with the deputation, and later gave it as his opinion that, so long as the Movement continued to hold aloof from anything which would involve it in matters which are the subject of ecclesiastical controversy, there was no reason why Anglicans should not participate in it, and at the same time remain absolutely loyal to the Church of England. This advice has been carefully followed, and up to the present the Movement has never been involved in any difficulties of this kind, nor has it found the mixing of denominations a source of weakness. It ought to be stated here—for it is a fact of no small importance—that those who have been keenest about this Movement have never shown any tendency to treat lightly their relationship to their own denomination. The leaders of the Movement have, as a rule, been men and women deeply attached to their own denomination, and “Undenominationalism” does not find a friend in the Student Movement.

A question may be asked as to the type of man found in this Movement. At the present time all types of men, and all types of thought, are found in it. Like all movements, the Union began to a great extent in one school of thought. The first conference was held at Keswick, and, though separate from the convention held there, this convention had considerable influence upon the leaders of the Movement. These were chiefly Evangelical Churchmen and Presbyterians. For the last ten years the Summer Conferences have been held at places unassociated with any particular school of thought. Things have developed steadily, until now all types of men are found in the

Movement. Men of all schools of thought are found in its ranks, and Union after Union could be pointed out whose leaders have high places on their college prize lists. Of its academic distinctions the *personnel* of the Movement has no reason to be ashamed. The remarkable thing is that this broadening has been accomplished without any loss of definiteness or of spiritual power ; rather, the Movement has gone from strength to strength. From the first it has created an atmosphere all its own—an atmosphere from which controversy has been absent, an atmosphere in which men have seen visions and accepted high ideals, an atmosphere in which prayer has been a real force, and, above all, an atmosphere which we dare to believe is what it is because it has been created by the presence of God with this Movement.

TISSINGTON TATLOW.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

*Introductions  
to  
our readers.*

THE *Bishop of Lebombo* (Dr. Smyth) after working at St. Peter's, London Docks, went out as a missionary to Zululand, and has for the last thirteen years been Bishop of Lebombo with his headquarters at Lorenzo Marques. It is significant that the suggestion to arrange what might be regarded as a common Communion Service, at which churchmen and nonconformists might unite, is put forward by one who would generally be regarded as an advanced high churchman. The proposal deserves serious consideration in view of the attempts at reunion which are being made at home as well as abroad.

The article on Hinduism and early Christianity is by *G. A. Grierson*, C.I.E., D.Litt., Fellow of Calcutta University, who spent thirty years in the Government service in India and has published numerous works dealing with Indian languages and literature. His article contains a large amount of information which will be new even to students of Indian literature. Its general purport is to show the extent to which the Hinduism which is found in India to-day is indebted to early Christian traditions or to the teaching of early Christian missionaries in India.

The article on Ecclesiastical hydrophobia, which is a protest against the comparative neglect displayed by the Church of England towards English sailors abroad, is written by *Commander Dawson*, the well known secretary of the Missions to Seamen Society.

*Dr. Weitbrecht* who has gained a long experience of missionary work in India, pleads for the establishment of a professorial chair of Missions at one of our older universities, and explains how much has been done in this way both in Germany and America.

The *Rev. E. P. Sketchley* will be known to all familiar



with the work of the S.P.G., of which he has been assistant secretary for twenty-five years.

The *Rev. Tissington Tatlow* is the organising secretary of the British College Christian Union, in regard to the work of which he writes.

We speak later on of the important article by the *Bishop of Dorking* (Dr. Boutflower), the suffragan bishop of Winchester.

*The sending out  
of foreign mis-  
sionaries.*

WE are glad to be in a position to print a further article supplementary to that published in our October issue under the title of "Vocation to Missionary Service."

It has been pointed out by some of our readers that we are in real danger of forgetting the very homely maxim that the best is the enemy of the good. Almost everyone is agreed that ideally the best arrangement, and that most in harmony with the earliest practice of the Church, would be that no candidate should ever go abroad as a missionary who was not specially selected and commissioned by the Archbishop of the province to which he belonged. But inasmuch as, by the most sanguine estimate, several years must elapse before any scheme remotely resembling this can be established, the danger we have to face is that those who would otherwise be seriously considering the inward call to missionary work, of which they have become to some extent conscious, should be content to shelve the responsibility of deciding, in the hope that they may be able to place it upon a body which may possibly come into existence after the next Lambeth Conference. We sympathise strongly with the Bishop of Dorking, who says: "We are not particular about the theory: we want to get something *done*—if possible on sound principles and theories from the start; if not, then on some second best plan, which shall at least save the loss of irretrievable opportunities." Half the Mission centres in the world are short-handed. The Bishop of one diocese has just written to us to say that he is simply afraid to hear of any rapid development of his work amongst the heathen, owing to the impossibility of finding European missionaries to superintend it, and the lapses which have

occurred amongst his native clergy when removed from European supervision and help. Is he to be told that in a few years' time the question will be seriously considered at home whether those who are willing to help him can be definitely commissioned to do so? Suppose, moreover, as is at least possible, that the Bishops who will meet at Lambeth in rather more than two years, decide that it is not wise to establish such a scheme as that which has been proposed to them, is the supply of missionaries to cease, or, after the loss of years of precious time, will it then be recognised that the initiative must continue to rest with the individual? We hope that the Bishop of Dorking's article may be widely read, and be productive of speedy and visible result.

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*Foreign Missions  
and the  
Stock Exchange.*

IN the review of Professor Margoliouth's new life of Mohammed inserted in our last issue we quoted a statement from a financial newspaper called the *Rialto*, which described Mohammedanism as a much older religion than Christianity, and we suggested that the circulation of such statements might account for the apathy towards foreign missions which was supposed to characterise members of the Stock Exchange. We have since received a letter from a member of the Exchange, who speaks of the *Rialto* in very unparliamentary language, and adds "I have never known of any Stock Exchange member who would take its contents seriously." He then goes on to say "I venture to think that the average member of the Stock Exchange supports missions to a greater degree than the average member of any other commercial body in the world. I am convinced that missions are supported by far more members of the Stock Exchange than the writer in your magazine or I myself could expect." We are glad to have the opportunity to give currency to the statements of our correspondent, who has a much better opportunity of forming a correct opinion than we have. The inscription carved above the Royal Exchange "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof" may encourage the hope that those who do business within its walls are prepared to act up to the declaration of faith which their motto contains.

“*The National Missionary Society of India.*” AN appeal signed by three well-known Christian natives has been extensively circulated amongst the Christian population of India urging that inasmuch as the existing European and American Missionary Societies only reach a fraction of the whole Indian population, the time has come for organising a National Missionary Society for India. The appeal states that :

“The object of the Society will be to evangelize the unoccupied fields in India, and to lay upon our fellow-countrymen the burden of responsibility for the evangelization of this land. The general direction of affairs will be placed in the hands of a council composed of representative Indians elected by the members from each province. . . . It must be understood that this will not mean the forming of a new Church or denomination. As in the China Inland Mission, men of the same denomination will work together, and their converts will be members of their own Church. One might naturally ask whether we shall get for this enterprise the required men and money. With more than a million Protestant Indian Christians, with large communities in some parts growing in wealth, influence, and education . . . we have every reason to hope that the plan will succeed. Some individual members of our community have already offered, if such a Society be formed, to support singly a worker as their representative, while others have said they will themselves go as workers if the way opens.”

On Christmas Day last the proposed Society was inaugurated in Carey's historic library at Serampore. Its constitution was adopted in the old pagoda where Henry Martyn worked and in the centenary year of his landing in India. Those who are responsible for the new movement have published letters of approval and sympathy, written by representative missionaries of almost every missionary society in India, including the S.P.G. and the C.M.S., though the movement has not yet come to the official cognizance of the Societies. In the letter from the Rev. G. H. Ware, of the Cambridge University Mission to Delhi, which has been published, he says :

“The inauguration of this scheme promises a new era in the evangelization of India. Not only may we look for a large multiplication of workers, but we may hope that traits of character, needed for the development of a national Christianity, but too much neglected by workers in our own Missions, may be brought

out under the larger responsibilities and the greater calls for self-sacrifice which this scheme will bring. I believe that the work in the new fields will react with blessing on that in the old. If I may express an opinion on the practical working of the scheme, I will say that I am glad to think that many men who have not found a sphere of active Christian work under our present Societies will do so under this, and will prove by their devotion that their desire for the conversion of their fellow-countrymen needed only an opportunity to show itself by action. And I believe, too, that the fundamental principle of this Society, of respecting the conscience of each one of its workers with regard to Church organisation, will enable it to be put on a sound working basis."

Although the difficulties which will arise in the carrying out of their scheme seem to us of a most serious kind, we are entirely in sympathy with the contention that India must and will become Christian as the result of missionary work organised and carried out by the natives of India. The fact, moreover, that a large number of experienced missionaries have approved this scheme is at least some evidence that the difficulties of working it will not prove insuperable. The bishops in India have as yet, had no opportunity of considering the question of any joint action in regard to it, but we feel sure that when the time comes it will receive careful and sympathetic consideration.

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*A German  
Colonial  
Congress.*

At the second German Colonial Congress recently held in Berlin, which was attended by more than 2,000 members, 73 addresses were given dealing with various colonial problems. Of these twelve dealt with problems raised by missionary work in German Africa. These addresses were given in the presence of an assembly composed of "high officials of the Government and officers of the army and representatives of science and of commerce." Several of the speakers referred to the immoral lives which some of the Europeans in the German colonies lived and to the injury which was thereby caused to the natives, and asked that only Christian men should be employed in official positions there. The Congress eventually passed unanimously the following resolution :

" Recognising the great value of missionary work for science

and civilisation, we recommend that all friends of our colonies give their full moral support to missionary work and thus cause greater union of civilising effort."

Is it unreasonable to suggest that when the next Conference of representatives from our English colonies meets in London it should be invited to follow the example set by the German Colonial Congress, and devote some portion of its time to the consideration of the work which is being done by missionaries amongst the native populations within their territories?

*The first Census  
of the British  
Empire.*

THE first census of the entire British Empire compiled by Government authority has just been issued, and its pages contain much material for reflection for all students of missions. We have in Asia alone more than 300,000,000 fellow-subjects; in America, 7,500,000; in Africa, about 43,000,000; in Australasia, over 5,000,000, and in Europe over 42,000,000. The total number is, roughly speaking, 400,000,000. If we classify them by the religions which they profess, we have, Hindus, 208,000,000; Mohammedans, 94,000,000; Christians, 58,000,000; Buddhists, 12,000,000; and various pagan or non-Christian religions, including Jews, 23,000,000. No less than 1,025,000 Chinese are included in this register of British subjects.

*The Order of  
Ethiopia in  
South Africa.*

READERS of this review will hardly need to be reminded that the Order of Ethiopia, the formation of which was described at length in our issue of January 1903, is entirely distinct from the semi-political movement entitled the Ethiopian Church which has been causing so much trouble recently from a political point of view in Natal. They would do good service to the cause of Missions if they would use all opportunities which present themselves of correcting this mistake. The Order of Ethiopia is opposed on almost every point to the Ethiopian Church, and is absolutely loyal to the Government in South Africa. Those who are not familiar with its history would do well to consult the article to which we have referred.

*Not untaught  
but unteachable.*

IN an article entitled "The Black Peril in South Africa," published in the March number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, the writer sums up his conclusions in the sentence, "The African savage is not untaught, but unteachable." We do not know who the writer (Mr. Hyatt) is, but as we read his article we could not help feeling that there are some magazine writers to whom this description would more correctly apply than it does to the poor African native. We have put down a specimen sentence of his article side by side with a quotation from the recently published Government report entitled "South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905."

*Mr. Hyatt's opinions.*

"Possessing no innate moral sense, the African is too low in the scale of evolution to comprehend even the most elementary principles of civilization or religion, and to endeavour to instil these into his mind is not mere waste of time, but it also involves the conversion of a respectable heathen into a useless dissolute ruffian."

*Government Commission Report.*

"The weight of evidence is to the effect that there appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching or to adopt Christian morals as a standard.

"The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the natives is to be found in Christianity.

"For the moral improvement of the natives there is no available influence equal to that of religious belief."

We have no quarrel with Mr. Hyatt, who has probably no first-hand knowledge and has perhaps never heard that a Government Commission composed of impartial laymen having no connection with missionary work had been engaged for two years past in investigating the questions on which he writes so airily, but we think that the time has come when the editor of a high-class review ought to have more respect for his reputation and for the intelligence of its readers than to offer them such rubbish as the article which we have alluded to contains.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

## BAPTISM BEHIND THE PURDAH.

BY THE BISHOP OF LAHORE.

SIR,—In considering the proposal contained in the opening article of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* for July, 1905, I feel compelled to start from the fact that, so far as I know, no "purdahnishin" woman would have been baptized on this basis during the twenty years of my work in Delhi other than those (sadly few, indeed, in number) who were actually baptized by the Priests of the Mission in St. Stephen's Church. In other words, the very serious change in practice which it is proposed to introduce would not, so far as my experience goes, have met any actually existing need, or enabled any women to receive the grace of Holy Baptism from which they would otherwise have been debarred. And, starting from my somewhat conservative standpoint, this one fact would be final in making me deprecate a change so very grave in itself, and involving, as I believe, not a few regrettable consequences. In my view nothing could justify its introduction except the fullest conviction on the part of men of experience in the field that it was urgently demanded by the actual needs of the case, and I should be much interested to know whether in this matter the experience of other Missionaries in India differs widely from my own.

Moreover, viewing the question theoretically, it seems to me unlikely that, at the present time at any rate, such cases do exist in India, in more than infinitesimal number. For the custom of purdah obtains primarily amongst the Mohammedans, and probably it is Mohammedan women who are chiefly in view in connection with this proposal of change. But in religious matters the standpoint of Mohammedans throughout North India differs very considerably from that of Hindus. In the first place, there is far greater earnestness of personal belief in the faith they profess, and a far greater shrinking from any teaching which conflicts with the truths which they hold so dear. Amongst the Hindus undoubtedly there is a very wide-spread disposition not to inquire very particularly into, or to care about, the tenets held privately by any member of the family or caste, provided no overt action is taken which will conflict with the rules of social observance and caste exclusiveness. But I believe that amongst the Moham-

medans such a position is rarely found. It follows from this that, amongst the women chiefly affected by the purdah system, the number of those whose men-folk would view with comparative indifference their change of faith, provided it did not entail the "social disgrace and scandal caused by public baptism," is probably very small, while I think one may add, with joy, that when a Mohammedan has himself been deeply influenced by Christian teaching, and brought to a real knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, the probability of his having the courage and strength to come forward himself for baptism, and thus opening the way for his wife also, is considerably greater than in the case of Hindus similarly situated.

Further, as regards the Hindus, amongst whom, too, the purdah system has become of course very prevalent, however much it may have originated with the Mohammedans and been more unreservedly accepted by them, it should be noted that while, as I have indicated, considerable indifference may obtain as to questions of private and personal belief, yet the line is drawn rigidly at any action which would conflict with caste rules and custom. It is this, I am convinced, far more than the thought of any publicity connected with baptism as ordinarily administered, which acts so powerfully in making the Hindu husband set his face against the baptism of his wife, or any other member of his family, and I very much doubt whether the mere fact of the baptism being administered in private instead of in public would affect their attitude towards it, while I am sure that if it was understood that this would lead on to the reception, similarly in private, of the Holy Communion—of food, *i.e.* prepared by other than Brahman, or duly qualified, hands—the objection would be immediate and insuperable. In my view, therefore, it is unlikely that the plan now proposed would, if carried into effect, meet any existing need, except, perhaps, in an extremely limited number of cases.

Moreover, in connection with any such proposal of change as that now under discussion, the question of admission to Holy Communion must, of course, present itself immediately, and no method for facilitating baptism can be of much account which would not also provide for the admission of the convert to the other Sacrament. I see that a precedent for the administration of the elements of Holy Communion to women by women is quoted from the "Testament of the Lord." I should, however, myself entirely shrink from contemplating such a very serious innovation (not now and again merely in the case of grievous sickness, but, as suggested, to meet the needs of a large class of women) on the basis of any such single precedent as this.

Lastly, I should dislike the proposed change because it obviously cuts at the root of any corporate Church life, in the



case of women thus baptized and thus admitted to the Holy Communion, and substitutes for it a purely individualistic and isolated position. I know, of course, that it will be said that this is only a regrettable necessity of the circumstances in which the women are placed, and that it is better to admit them to the Christian Fold in this way than, *ex hypothesi*, not at all. To this I would reply that in proportion to our realisation of the primary importance in the Christian life of our fellowship one with another and of our joint-membership in the Body of Christ, will be our reluctance to admit any innovation (at any rate, except in the face of such an unmistakable and overwhelming need as I, for my own part, do not believe to exist in this connection) the tendency of which would be to signally obscure that aspect of the Truth; and, as I believe, nowhere more than in India at the present time does this side of corporate life and fellowship need to be continually insisted on.

In one or two cases in Delhi, where it seemed likely that a purdah woman would come forward for baptism, but shrank from facing the whole congregation at the time, I let it be known that if desired I would arrange for a congregation *exclusively of women* to be present. It was, however, assumed as a matter of course that the baptism would be administered by the Priest, and stress was laid on its taking place in Church, and in the presence of a congregation, as emphasizing from the first the true character of the Christian life. So far as I can remember this offer was never taken advantage of, though, as I have already said, I have not the slightest reason to think that the presence of the Priest was the stumbling-block, or that the baptism would have taken place if still further privacy had been secured.

As an illustration, in some degree, of this position, it may be worth while to mention that in the Delhi congregation there is one family, of good social standing, of converts from Mohammedanism, the women of which have to the present day maintained the custom of purdah, in so far that no men visitors are ordinarily admitted to the house, and that they always come to church clad in the "Burka," or long flowing robe, which is put over the head and completely conceals the features and the entire person. On the other hand, when one of the clergy of the Mission goes to call at their house he is freely admitted and welcomed, no attempt whatever at concealment of any kind being made in his presence.

I think, therefore, that if the plan I have suggested for partial privacy at the time of baptism were followed when specially desired by the convert, it might remove some difficulties without being exposed to any of the very serious drawbacks which, as it seems to me, beset the proposal for "Baptism behind the Purdah."

G. H. LAHORE

## REVIEWS.

*List of Inscriptions on Monuments in Madras.* By T. T. Cotton, C.S. Madras, 1905. Price 7s. 3d.

THE Government of India has published at long intervals three volumes containing the Christian and Jewish inscriptions of note in Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Madras Presidency ; but we still await the inscriptions from Surat, Goa, and Bombay. The inscriptions already published number some 3,900—2,300 of them from Madras—and consist almost entirely of sepulchral epitaphs ; the rest, an infinitesimal number, record the erection of a church, a bridge, a hospital, or some charitable gift. The inscriptions are in all the chief languages of Europe, as well as in some Oriental ones. English inscriptions are, of course, vastly the most numerous, and after them come the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the Armenian. A Syrian cross with a Pahlavi inscription dug up at St. Thomas' Mount in 1547 dates from the seventh or eighth century ; the next epigraphic record of Christianity in India bears the date 1517 ; but it is only from the commencement of the seventeenth century that inscriptions become common. Much has depended upon chance and local circumstances, and factories like Kasim Bazar, which flourished for many decades, have left no contemporary records in stone, so that the monuments which have come down to us relate only a fragmentary history. It was time that the publication should be taken in hand by the Government, but the volumes are edited with very different degrees of merit. The volume which deals with the United Provinces has neither arrangement nor index, and could scarcely be worse ; the volume on Bengal is scholarly, but the notes are meagre ; while the Madras volume, edited by Mr. T. T. Cotton, is a splendid storehouse of genealogical and historical information—the work has been a labour of love. All three volumes suffer alike from the mode in which the materials have been collected, through ignorant or indifferent underlings of the Public Works Department. The inscriptions are often imperfectly or wrongly copied—there are frequent omissions—and we learn nothing of cemeteries and tombs which have an historical interest, although time and chance have robbed them of their inscriptions,

if, indeed, inscriptions ever existed. Another defect common to the whole series is the want of an historical index. The arrangement of every *corpus inscriptionum* is necessarily geographical, because the one sure fact about an inscription is its find spot. But if we want to study the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, or the Armenian inscriptions by themselves—and each nation reflects its own character on its tombs—we must wade through the whole mass and make our own index. The editors should have saved us this trouble.

Every collection of inscriptions is a quarry of historical and genealogical information as well as of epitaphic literature. And the first thing which strikes us in the present collection is its necessary imperfection. The Europeans who have gone to India have been foreigners, and, as a rule, they have desired a return to their own country. It is true that down to 1830, or even later, many who went to India made it their permanent home. But the majority were temporary sojourners, and their tombs are elsewhere. Vasco da Gama died at Cochin, but his remains have been transported to Portugal. Albuquerque, however, was buried at Goa, and a magnificent Goanese church and sepulchre cover the body of St. Francis Xavier, and his shrine is a place of pilgrimage for Christians and infidels. Scarcely any of the illustrious Frenchmen who tried to found a kingdom in India rest there. Bussy is the most famous of those who are buried at Pondicherry, but his tomb and its inscription are commonplace. The earliest Englishman of note is Job Charnock, who founded Calcutta and rescued his native wife from being burnt as a Sati. He made India his home, but his epitaph says "*Qui postquam in solo non suo peregrinatus esset diu, reversus est domum suæ æternitatis, decimo die Januarii, 1692 (O.S.),*" a sentiment which is repeated on other English and Dutch tombstones of the period.

Clive, Stringer Lawrence, Warren Hastings, and most of their companions died in England. The most famous of this group buried in India is General Carnac. His tomb at Mangalore records his command in Bengal and his victory at Buxar in 1761. Lord Cornwallis, the only Governor-General except Lord Elgin who has died in India, is buried at Ghazipur under a marble mausoleum. After 1800, the tombs of illustrious Anglo-Indians become common. We shall only quote two, both from Lucknow, "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May the Lord have mercy on his soul." The inscription on General Havelock's tomb at the Alum Bagh recites a long biography, and says "It was the aim of his life to prove that the profession of a Christian is consistent with the fullest discharge of the duties of a soldier. He departed to his rest in humble but confident expectation of a better reward than those which a grateful country was anxious

to bestow." The tomb of John Nicholson at Delhi is equally memorable, but the brief inscription is not before us.

Christian missionaries and priests have left more monumental traces of themselves in India from the earliest times than most branches of the community. The Portuguese were the only Europeans in India during the sixteenth century, and most of their monuments have disappeared, but the tombstones of some of the canons of the Cochin Cathedral still remain. In the following century we find a Vicar-General at Cochin (1641), and somewhat later the Bishops of Mailapor. An Armenian, Khojah Mortenepus, erected a mausoleum at Agra in 1611. "He was a professed disciple of Christ, and a righteous man. Whatever he had he gave in charity to the poor in token of his fidelity to his divine Master." An Armenian bishop who died in 1615, and four Armenian priests are buried beside him. The same mausoleum contains the remains of twenty-two Roman Catholic priests who died at Agra between 1634 and 1767. Two of them were taken captive by the Moghals at Hughli in 1631, and died in prison, *no carcere pe la fe*. Among the Jesuits we would specially notice Constantine Beschi, "the great fearless man of God," as the natives called him, and the finest linguist who ever came to India. He is buried with some other Fathers at the foot of a hill, and the Tamil inscription over him simply runs, "Father Constant came from town," *i.e.* from Trichinopoly.

The Danish mission at Tranquebar was the oldest Protestant mission in India. Tranquebar, with its massive walls and gateways, and its streets of houses built in European fashion, is one of the most curious of Indian towns. The New Jerusalem church in which Ziegenbalg preached is scarcely changed; the pulpit, the high-backed chairs of the Moravian brethren, the silver candlesticks of 1688 on the altar, are still there. Ziegenbalg's epitaph runs: "In spe gloriosae resurrectionis quiescunt hic ossa beati Bartholomei Ziegenbalg Sacr. Reg. Maj. Dan. et Norw. missionarii ad Tamulos, viri doctissimi, gravissimi, fidelissimi, et per xiii annos ecclesiae evangelicae ex iisdem collectae Praepositi praeclarissimi, nati 24 Jun. 1683, denati 23 Feb. 1719." Although the mission was under the auspices of the Danish king, most of the missionaries were Westphalians and North Germans. Some twenty of them or their wives rest in the polyglot Tranquebar cemeteries of the eighteenth century.

German also were the two first missionaries employed by the English church in India. Christian Frederic Schwartz (or as the monuments call him, Swartz) came to India in the Danish mission, was for ten years Chaplain to the H.E.I.C.'s troops at Trichinopoly, and from 1778 a missionary of the S.P.C.K. at Tanjore. He died at the age of seventy-two in 1798, and the English Government at

Madras, and his pupil, the Rajah of Tanjore, raised monuments to his memory. "The similarity of his situation to that of the first preachers of the Gospel produced in him a peculiar resemblance to the simple sanctity of the Apostolic character. His natural vivacity won the affection, as his unspotted probity and purity of life alike commanded the reverence, of the Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu; for sovereign princes, Hindu and Muhammadan, selected this humble pastor as the medium of political negotiation with the British Government, and the very marble that here records his virtues was raised by the liberal affection and esteem of the Rajah of Tanjore, Maharajah Serfojee." Serfojee also composed a set of verses, the first efforts of the native muse at English poetry, which he has inscribed upon Schwartz's tomb. They end thus :

To the benighted, dispenser of light,  
Doing and pointing to that which is right ;  
Blessing to princes, to people, to me,  
May I, my father, be worthy of thee,  
Wisheth and prayeth thy Serabojee.

A huge tomb at Calcutta covers the remains of Kiernander, who died the year after Schwartz. The inscription says that he was the "first missionary of the Church of England in Bengal," and "died after a residence of sixty years in India, December 29, 1799, aged eighty-eight years, one month and eighteen days." Carey (1834), Marshman (1837), and Ward (1823), are commemorated at Serampore.

The early commercial factories of the East India Company had a chaplain on their establishment, and these chaplains frequently devoted themselves to natives as well as to Europeans. Richard Elliott, a fellow of King's, Cambridge, was the second chaplain at Madras (1680-1696), and the first buried there. "He hath been the instrument of great good in this place." When the East India Company became the rulers of three Presidencies, they changed their attitude towards missions for fear of political complications. But the ancient tradition was never lost among the chaplains. We have seen that Schwartz was one of the Company's chaplains for a time. Henry Martyn died in Armenia (1812), having acquired an immortal crown at the age of thirty-two; but a tablet in Calcutta records his labours and his end. David Brown (1812) and Thomason (1829) are buried in Calcutta, having laboured almost as much for missions as for their own countrymen. The bishopric of Calcutta was founded in 1813; and the archdeacons of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were instituted at the same time. A long and elegant Latin inscription commemorates Mousley, first archdeacon of Madras (1819); a simpler English

one honours Loring (1822), the first archdeacon of Calcutta. Six out of seven of the first bishops of Calcutta died in India; Middleton (1822), Turner (1831), and Wilson (1858) are buried in Calcutta, and Heber (1826) in Trichinopoly; Cotton (1866) was drowned at Kushtia, and Milman (1876) rests in Rawal Pindee. Heber has the largest number of inscriptions raised to his memory, although for many years his actual grave had nothing over it. "Adeo omnes sibi devinxerat ut ecclesia universa patrem, ethnici patronum carissimum desiderarent," says the Madras inscription; the Calcutta tablet speaks of "scriptoris perelegantis et suavissimi, gentium et morum investigatoris curiosi, poetae eximii, Christianae fidei praeconis in primis laudandi quem antistitem venerandum carum hujus regionis incolae atque indigenae etiam ethnici mirabili consensu agnoverunt."

Corrie, the first Bishop of Madras, is buried there (1837); also Dealtry (1861). Sargent, who was for fifty-four years connected with missions, died and is buried at Palamcottah (1889); Caldwell, fifty-three years a missionary, is buried (1891) in a native Christian church at Idui Yangudi, Tinnevely, while a tablet in St. George's Cathedral celebrates his memory. Parker, who died in Central Africa, has a memorial in Calcutta; but it would take too long to go through the list of celebrated missionaries and ecclesiastics whose labours are commemorated in these volumes. Nor have we space for a review of the epitaphic literature. Generally speaking, it is much on a par with contemporary inscriptions in England; when verse is ventured on, it is frequently halting and rude. And what is true of the English epitaphs is true of the other European ones. But there is one splendid exception. Some of the Armenian epitaphs in Bengal are among the finest we have seen. Unfortunately they are too long for quotation. K.

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*The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries.* By Adolf Harnack, Professor of Church History in the University of Berlin, translated by J. Moffatt. 2 Vols. Published by Williams and Norgate. Pp. 494 + 488. Price 10s. 6d. each volume.

IT is sometimes assumed by those who desire to understand or at any rate to express an opinion on the missionary methods which are being employed to-day, that all that is needed is the perusal of a selected assortment of current missionary magazines, to which may perhaps be added an interview with one or more missionaries who may chance to be available for this purpose. This assumption that missionary problems, unlike all other religious and historical problems, can be mastered without strenuous and long-continued

study has done much to bring the labours of missionaries into comparative disrepute. It is, as we may say in passing, as a protest against such an assumption that this review was started. A work like that which has been sent us for review, and which deals with the missionary efforts of the early Christian Church during the first three centuries, suggests how limitless is the field of study which lies before the student of Christian missions, and which must be traversed by him before he can pretend to have fully understood the nature of the problems with which modern missionaries are confronted.

In these volumes an attempt has been made by a writer of European reputation to explain (as the translator of these volumes says), "how and why and where, within less than three centuries, an oriental religious movement which was originally a mere ripple on a single wave of dissent in the wide sea of paganism, rose into a breaker which swept before it the vested interests, prejudices, traditions, and authority of the most powerful social and political organisation that the world hitherto had known." Many books have been written both in England and Germany dealing with the dogmatic teaching of the early Church and with its relation to the State, but comparatively few attempts have been made to give a systematic and exhaustive account of what Harnack calls the "missionary history" of the first three centuries. There are many statements, especially in the first volume, concerning the limitations of Christ's outlook upon the future of His Church with which we are far from agreeing, but this fact does not prevent us from feeling grateful to Dr. Harnack for the vast mass of materials which he has here provided, and which no future student of early Christian missions can neglect. If we take as an example the development of the Christian Church in North-west Africa, we have given us a complete list of every place in North-west Africa where Christian churches are known to have existed prior to A.D. 325. The very large number of bishops in proportion to the whole Christian population was, according to Harnack, one result of the municipal organisation of North Africa which was derived from the Phœnicians. He estimates the number of bishops in North-west Africa as in A.D. 220, 70 to 90; in A.D. 250 nearly 150; by the beginning of the fourth century hardly less than 250; and at the beginning of the fifth century about 600. The complete extinction of this Church in consequence of the spread of Islam was, as he suggests, in part due to the fact that the Bible was never translated into the vernacular of the common people. We might add that a still more obvious cause was an entire lack of missionary enthusiasm even amongst the greatest leaders of the Church such as Cyprian and Augustine. There is not, as far as we know, a single passage in the writings of either of these which speaks of the obligation of the

Church to evangelise the heathen races of North-west Africa. The rapidity with which the Christian faith spread throughout the empire is well described in the closing sentences of the second volume. "Seventy years after the foundation of the very first Gentile church in Syrian Antioch, Pliny wrote in the strongest terms about the spread of Christianity throughout remote Bithynia, a spread which in his view already threatened the stability of other cults throughout the province. Seventy years later still the Paschal controversy reveals the existence of a Christian federation of churches, stretching from Lyons to Edessa, with its headquarters situated at Rome. Seventy years later again the Emperor Decius declared he would sooner have a rival emperor in Rome than a Christian bishop. And ere another seventy years had passed, the cross was sewn upon the Roman colours."

The Christian missionary student of to-day will find encouragement and instruction as he compares the results of modern missions with the experiences of the early Christian missionaries as set forth in these volumes.

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*The Africander Land.* By Archibald R. Colquhoun. Published by J. Murray. 16s. net. 438 pp.

WE strongly recommend the study of this book to those who have never lived in South Africa, but who are rash enough to suppose that they have mastered the various social, religious, and political problems which are calling aloud for solution in that country. Amidst the flood of literature which has been issued dealing with South African questions, we have seen no book which sets forth so succinctly the nature of these problems, and the perusal of which will tend more to make those who live in England distrust any ready-made solution of them which may be provided by party politicians or newspapers.

The writer of the book has had exceptional opportunities for studying the problem of which he treats. He has had experience as a Government official or otherwise of life in India, Siam, Burma, China, the United States, Central America, and many other countries. On the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890, he was appointed its first administrator. He has recently revisited South Africa, and spent some time in restudying its problems. The great failing in so many books which have been published on South Africa is that they have lacked perspective. Take, for instance, what is called "the native question." No study of the African native, however careful and prolonged, can qualify anyone to attempt the solution of a question which in its essential features is common to many other countries where Europeans and natives



come into contact. Again, no intelligent person can pretend to understand what is called the Chinese question who has not lived amongst the Chinese in their own country, and observed their customs and their ways of living. For the study of these and many other questions connected with South Africa what is wanted is something more than local knowledge. It is the possession on the part of the writer of experience gained in almost every part of the world where Europeans and natives are brought into close relations with each other which renders this volume so helpful.

In one of the earliest chapters, entitled "Religion and the Native," the writer bears ungrudging testimony to the work accomplished by missionaries. He says: "It is hardly possible to overestimate the influence which the introduction of the Christian religion has had on the history of South Africa." He goes on to endorse the finding of the Native Affairs Commission Report of 1905, which says: "For the moral improvement of the natives there is no influence equal to that of religious belief." He especially desires to see an extension of that branch of missionary enterprise which has for its object the development of industrial schools, and the inoculation of a sense of the dignity of labour. He then goes on to deal with the problem of native labour. Whilst far from regarding the importation of Chinese for the Rand as an ideal solution, he considers that it is at present the only apparent means for continuing the administration of the country towards which the mines contribute four and a half millions per annum in taxes. Speaking of the "moral aspect" of the question involved in the separation of the Chinese from their wives and families he says, "The Chinaman is as fond of his family as any European, probably fonder—he certainly feels the family tie more strongly. He is, however, accustomed to seek work away from it, since his own village and districts do not offer him opportunities. He does not experience the same difficulty in leaving his family as would a British artisan, since the various generations are all bound closely together, probably live together, and are certain to support and protect each other. Leaving his wife and children in this family circle, the Chinese labourer goes contentedly to work in foreign lands, certain that he will find his home and his ancestral grave waiting for him six or sixteen years hence. The idea that any self-respecting Chinese would contemplate the desecration of the family hearth by taking away his wife and children to a barbarian land, thus leaving the tombs of his ancestors unworshipped, is only possible to those ignorant of Chinese life. . . . The strongest argument in favour of fair and even liberal treatment of the coolies is the fact that each man placed on the Rand represents an outlay in hard cash which can hardly be recovered unless he is willing to sign on for a second term after the period for which he is bound."

It appears that a deputation recently waited on Lord Selborne to complain that the obscene (English) language used by the Chinese was likely to corrupt the morals of the Europeans, whereupon Lord Selborne asked the very pertinent question, "Where did they learn that language?"

The chapters on "The Language Question," "The Race Problem in School," "The Dutch Reformed Church," "The Dutch Africander in Private and in Public Life," and "Land Settlement as a Policy," are specially instructive. The predominating influence of the Dutch in South Africa may be shown by the fact that of the whole white population they form 70 per cent. in the Cape, 85 per cent. in the Orange River Colony, 60 per cent. in the Transvaal, and 25 per cent. in Natal. Moreover, they are the rapidly increasing element in the population. In discussing the various economic questions which are being raised, especially in Cape Colony, he says, "It is the political question which swamps all economic progress in Cape Colony, and unless it can be shelved by all honest and moderate men joining hands in thinking first of the material welfare of their country, it will end in this colony being left far behind, stranded and derelict." In the chapter on Rhodesia he speaks very strongly of the way in which the public at home have been deliberately misled and deceived as to the prospects of the mining industry. He adds, "I am strongly inclined to believe that the British South Africa Company has done all the useful work possible to it." The book as a whole can be strongly recommended to anyone who desires to appreciate the exceeding difficulty of forming any opinion which is likely to be of value on the various subjects of which it treats.

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*Between Capetown and Loanda.* By Alan G. S. Gibson, Co-adjutor Bishop of Capetown. 201 pp., with map and illustrations. Published by Wells Gardner. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE country which lies between Cape Colony and Loanda is one of the least known in the whole of Africa. The publication of this book is specially opportune, as it has for some time past been the scene of a war between Germany and the tribes who do not desire the advantages of her rule. Curiously enough, the whole of German South-west Africa was annexed in 1884, on the petition of the German missionaries who had entered the country many years before. The British Government was first asked to afford protection to these missionaries, and upon its refusal to do this, the German Government declared a protectorate over the whole district. The first journey which Bishop Gibson made in

1901 involved a land journey of 1,922 miles, a large proportion of which was done by waggon. His object was to visit the stray English families and to see whether missionary work amongst the natives could be attempted by the Church in South Africa. He calculates that there are about 500 English people altogether in German South-west Africa, and whilst he does not think that it would be desirable for an English mission to the natives to be started in view of the work which is being done by the German missionaries, he urges strongly that some attempt should be made to reach these English-speaking people. His journey made in 1903 was chiefly in the Portuguese colony of Angola and in the northern part of the German territory. Here too he urges "that we should not leave our own Church members uncared for, in isolation and heathenism, in the very conditions of life which most urgently demand spiritual help." We venture to commend to the notice of colonial bishops who may be contemplating a change of work some of the concluding words of this book written by a brother bishop, "I would make in all seriousness another suggestion: that Walfisch Bay (like Tristan d'Acunha) would make a very good home for a retired bishop. The place is healthy, and the work would be well within the powers of a man (say) of sixty-five. Why is it necessary for retired bishops, as a rule, to go to England? In many cases they would be infinitely more useful abroad. South Africa could certainly find work for two. Who will volunteer?"

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*The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa, what it has done and what it has taught us.* By Arthur W. Robinson, D.D., Vicar of All Hallows Barking by the Tower. 152 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 1s. net in paper, 1s. 6d. net in cloth.

THOSE who were responsible for organising the Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa (several references to which have appeared in the pages of this review) have done well to arrange for the publication of this volume. That the Mission was in the best sense of the word successful no one can doubt who reads the testimonies of the representative witnesses quoted in this book. To take but one instance—Sir A. Lawley speaking as he himself stated, "as the head of the Government in the Transvaal," on the occasion of a farewell meeting in Pretoria, said that the missionaries "left behind them in many towns and villages which they had visited, men and women whose hearts were grateful. . . . They might know that they had braced up the energy and courage of their brethren here, and that they had strengthened the hand

of the Church in South Africa. The titles of the chapters will suggest the general outline of the book, which is written in concise and simple language: The idea of the Mission—A pioneer expedition—A further preparatory visit—A conference of the Missioners—The work in progress—Description of the work—Further results and testimonies—Return and thanksgiving—Concluding reflections. We should have been glad had it been possible to state rather more dogmatically what were the mistakes to be avoided and the special features to be copied or developed in view of an attempt to organise other missions of a similar character. In the October issue of this review it was urged that a Mission of Help of a corresponding character might with great advantage be sent to work amongst the English-speaking people in India during the cold season. We trust that this report may obtain a very wide circulation, and that one of its more immediate results may ensure the carrying out of this suggestion. Such a mission, as it has now been proved by experience, benefits equally three separate classes of people, viz. the missionaries themselves, the people to whom they are sent, and their own congregations at home, to whom they eventually return with increased experience and power.

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*China and Religion.* By E. H. Parker, Professor of Chinese at Manchester University. Published by Murray. 317 pp. Price 12s. net.

THOUGH the author of this volume, who was employed for many years in the consular service in China, does not give us the impression of being a profound or accurate Chinese scholar, he has brought together a large amount of information, which should prove of interest to the student of early and mediæval missions to China. The first 100 pages are devoted to an account of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. A great amount of information is supplied, but it is not well arranged. Then follows a chapter on the Nestorian Mission, including a good reproduction of the Nestorian stone, which is dated A.D. 1092, and was rediscovered in 1623. Perhaps the two most valuable chapters are those narrating the introduction and progress of Islam in China and the chapter on the Jews. A community of Jews existed in China from 1163 down to 1900, when they ceased to exist as a separate community. The chapters of the early Franciscan and Jesuit Missions also contain much that is of interest, but, as in the former part of the book, the information supplied is of too fragmentary a kind to make the book interesting to the reader who has not already studied the history of China. The book, however, should be of considerable value as a work of reference.

*One of China's Scholars.* By Mrs. Howard Taylor. 196 pp.  
Published by Morgan and Scott. Price 1s. 6d.

WE are glad to welcome this cheap reprint of one of the most helpful and delightful books which have ever been written dealing with missionary work in China.

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*Chinese Superstition.* By J. Vale, 48 pp. Published by the  
China Inland Mission. Price 6d.

A DESCRIPTION of the superstitions of the most superstitious people in the world. The account which is given of many of them would be amusing if it were not pathetic.

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*In and Out of Chanda, being an account of the Mission of the Scottish Episcopal Church to the city and district of Chanda, together with papers on the religions and customs of the people.* By the Rev. A. Wood, with a preface by the Bishop of St. Andrews, illustrated. 70 pp. Published by the Scottish Church Foreign Mission Board. Price 1s.

THIS book consists for the most part of letters which were received from Mr. Wood, and will be of special interest to the supporters of the Chanda Mission.

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*A Japanese Family: A Tale.* By Herbert Moore, formerly  
Missionary in Japan. 183 pp. Published by W. H. Smith,  
Nantwich. Price 1s. 6d.

THOSE who have read "The Christian Faith in Japan," by Mr. Moore, which was published by the S.P.G., will be glad to hear of another book by the same author. The book is intended for and will especially appeal to schoolboys, and should be put into boys' libraries. It is illustrated by some very good pictures.

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*Islam, its Rise and Progress.* By the Rev. E. Sell, Fellow of the  
University of Madras. 94 pp. Published by Simpkin, Mar-  
shall. Price 9d.

A SIMPLE and popular account of the rise and progress of Islam, by one of the best authorities on the subject.

*J. S. Hill, First English Bishop in Western Equatorial Africa.* By R. E. Faulkener. 226 pp. Published by Allenson.

THIS book, which was issued in 1895 at 3s. 6d., is now reduced to 1s. 6d. We hope that this reduction in price may obtain for it the wider circulation which it deserves.

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WE also welcome a cheap 6d. paper edition of Mr. Welsh's "Challenge to Christian Missions," published by Allenson, which has already gained a very wide circulation. It is a book which all our readers should know.

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*Cambridge Theological Essays.* Being essays on some theological questions of the day. By members of the University of Cambridge. 599 pp. Published by Macmillan. Price 18s.

OF the essays contained in this volume, the one which specially appeals to students of missions is that entitled "Christ in the Church : the testimony of history," by the Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson. The student of foreign missions is constantly reminded by his studies that there can be no finality about our knowledge of the person of Jesus Christ. We cannot know Him by dwelling solely on the past ; the knowledge to be derived from the Gospel records needs continually to be expanded and supplemented by the study of His influence in the present. This thought is well expressed in this essay. "In the case of Jesus Christ it would be decisive against His Godhead to find that any age estimated Him exactly as any other. For that would imply that man could take in at one time more than one facet of the life of God. It is essential to His divinity that he should satisfy the ideals and appeal to the best aspirations of nations and individuals in every age. That He is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever' does not mean that His Person can only be rightly regarded in a single light ; for as the unity of God implies infinity rather than simplicity, so the Person of Jesus Christ embraces all the best ideals of humanity, and exists, not for one generation, but for all ages."

We have not space for any review of the book as a whole, but cordially recommend it to the attention of our readers.

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*Outline Histories of C.M.S. Missions.* 181 pp. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

THE first volume of this series, which we noticed in our last issue, dealt with C.M.S. Missions in Africa and Mohammedan lands ; the present volume deals with Missions in India. It is specially intended for those who have to teach or lecture on C.M.S. Missions.

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*A Tropical Dependency : An outline of the Ancient History of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria.* By Lady Lugard. 500 pp. Published by Nisbet. Price 18s.

THIS contains by far the best account which has as yet been published of the early history of Mohammedanism in West Africa. The book would have been very much more useful to the student if an attempt had been made to give the authorities on which many of its statements rest. The chapter entitled the Pharaohs in Hausaland contains many statements which would command wide attention if they could be substantiated. Lady Lugard refers to "historic writers" who state that a king named Housal once reigned in Egypt whose name meant servant of Venus. In his time the worship of Astarte was common in the Valley of the Nile. Nimrod, a son of this king Housal, was overthrown by a son of his brother, who had married a magician from the south. The people of Yoruba, who border on the Hausa States, claim to be descended from the Phœnician tribe of Nimrod. They further claim that the Hausa people are descended from people who were left by the Phœnicians as they were journeying from Egypt to the Yoruba country. Traces of the worship of Astarte have been found in several parts of the Hausa country. The suggestion which Lady Lugard makes, though she is careful to put it forward as a mere suggestion, is that the Hausas derive their name from this Egyptian king called Housal.

There is an enormous amount of information contained in the book for which the student of West African history must needs be grateful, and we hope that it may serve to attract attention to the history of which it treats.

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*Abstract of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Administration of the Congo Free State.* By G. W. Macalpine. 86 pp. Published by the Baptist Missionary Society. Price 1s.

THIS contains the essential parts of the report of the commission of enquiry which was sent out by the King of the Belgians at

the end of 1904. The admissions which the commissioners make in regard to the cruelty and misgovernment on the part of the European officials more than justify the agitation which has been raised on the subject. The Commission was composed of two Belgian judges and one Swiss jurist. Since the publication of their report a further commission has been appointed to report as to the measures which should be adopted in view of giving effect to the recommendations of the commissioners, and it is this further report which those interested in the Congo are awaiting with strained interest. The abstract of the report now published contains supplementary and explanatory notes taken from a report by Mr. Casement, H.M. consul at Boma, who has travelled through the Congo State with the special object of investigating the condition of its peoples.

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*Judaism and Christianity, Short Studies. The Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer Book.* By the Rev. G. H. Box. *Sabbath and Sunday historically considered.* By the Rev. A. W. Streane. 3d. each. Published by Longmans.

THE object of these papers, which form part of a series, is to place before Jews of Western training and education an explanation of Christian doctrines and customs which are specially liable to be misunderstood by Jews. The two papers which we have received are likely to be most useful.

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*Preparation for the Christian Ministry in view of Present-day Conditions.* Published by the Student Christian Movement. 250 pp. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THIS volume consists of papers contributed by ten different writers. The titles of the papers are "Conditions and Problems," "The Training of the Intellect," "Character," "The Care of the Inner Life," "The Bible in Relation to the Kingdom of God," "The Opportunity and the Preparation of the Preacher," "Work in Great Cities," "Work Abroad," "The Home Ministry and Foreign Missions," and "The Student Volunteer Movement." The paper on the training of the intellect which is written by the Dean of S. Patrick's, Dublin, is specially to be commended to those who are themselves preparing for work in the mission-field.

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*The Way.* By Ethel Ashton. 106 pp. illustrated. Published by the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Price 1s.

THIS is an admirable story intended to interest young children in missionary work. It has a very serious vein, but is far removed from the goody-goody style of some children's missionary books.

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*Into all the World: an Appeal to the Christian Church.* By the Rev. C. S. Macalpine, with an introductory note by Dr. Alexander Maclaren. 80 pp. Published by Marshall Brothers. Price 1s.

A VIGOROUS and inspiring appeal dealing with "the duty, the need, the motives, the claim, and the hope of Missions. It contains no reference to the work of special societies except to the Moravians. The writer states that the members of the Moravian Church contribute on an average 8s. 6d. each per annum towards foreign missions. If all other Christians in Great Britain contributed a similar amount the sum raised each year would be twelve million pounds.

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*Christianity and the Working Classes.* Edited by Geo. Haw. 258 pp. Published by Macmillan. Price 3s. 6d. net.

MANY of our readers will have seen a previous work of a similar kind to this edited by Mr. Haw, entitled "The Religious Doubts of Democracy," in which the doubts and denials of the so-called working classes were discussed by various writers. We welcome this second book, which is likely to prove useful to many. Its list of writers contains three members of the Labour Party, including Mr. Will Crooks and Mr. Henderson. Though many of the writers have but small belief in what they call institutional Christianity, it is encouraging to find how strong is their belief that the life and teaching of Christ affords the best hope of permanently raising the condition of the poor. In his introduction, Mr. Haw discusses the failure of "Labour Churches," and quotes a letter published in the *Clarion*, the writer of which said, "If we are to have a Socialist Church we must have a definite creed, however simple; it is impossible to satisfy the needs of any human mind and heart without this." Several similar confessions of the need of a dogmatic faith occur in the various papers. A plea to recognise the Christian principles of men who would not call themselves Christians, but whose actions are in accord with the spirit of Christ is put forward by Mr. Harvey, a member of the L.C.C. His words may appeal to some in the foreign field who are perplexed as to the attitude which they should assume towards

heathen men inspired by noble ideals. He says, "As we live more in this spirit the sense of the underlying verities which unite us will deepen, and we shall feel, too, how much more in common we have than we had supposed with those who cannot call themselves by Christ's name. We shall realise how much we share with the devout agnostic, and with every honest fighter for truth and right; every man who realises in his life the claims of others, the value of unselfishness, the supreme authority of ethical and spiritual ideals. The great battle the Christian has to fight is not with intellectual heresies, but with greed and selfishness, and all the armies of materialism; and in this struggle he has noble fellow-soldiers who are giving up their lives without the strength of the supporting conviction that he enjoys, in the cause, though not in the name, of the same Leader."

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*How the Church Began.* By the Rev. R. B. Rackham. 131 pp.  
Published by Longmans. Price 1s. net in paper, 1s. 6d. net in cloth.

THIS is one of the series "Simple Guides to Christian Knowledge," intended to be read by parents or teachers to children. It is quite one of the best of this most useful series. Mr. Rackham will be known to many of our readers by his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles published in the Westminster Commentary Series.

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*A Book of Angels.* Published by Longmans. 328 pp. Price 6s. net.

THIS is a compilation by an anonymous writer from books or published addresses by many different authors. The various chapters are necessarily of very unequal value, but the book as a whole is likely to be helpful. One of the writers quoted, Mr. H. Jeaffreson, makes the amazing statement that the fact that our Lord rebuked the winds and waves implies that they, the winds and waves, "were not only sentient but malignant." It is difficult to see how such a belief would differ from the attribution by savages of evil dispositions and powers to the trees and stones which they worship. The twelve pictures of angels which are reproduced in the book add greatly to its attractiveness.

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*The Lord's Prayer in five hundred languages.* Published by Gilbert and Rivington. Price 8s. with a preface by Reinhold Rost, new and enlarged edition.

THIS book, which is at once a proof of the activity of missionary agencies and of the perfection of the printer's art, is one which has a strange fascination for anyone interested at all in foreign tongues. Of some languages which have ceased to be spoken, such as Cornish, but few specimens are available to the ordinary student apart from translations of the Bible. In a certain number of cases the translations here given, and which have been made specially for this work, are mere literary curiosities. Such are the translations into Egyptian hieroglyphics and into Babylonian. Not the least interesting part of the book is that which contains thirteen different English versions, one of which is in rhyme and was written by Pope Adrian in 1160. Its last two lines read "Ne let ous fall into no founding, Ac shield ous fro the fowle thing." The book is very prettily got up, and is issued at an extraordinarily low price.

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*The Irish Theological Quarterly.* 128 pp. Price 2s. Printed by Gill and Son, Dublin.

WE have received the first number of this new *Quarterly Review*, which is edited by five members of the Roman Church, who are theological professors at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. The review is attractively printed, and the articles are written in a popular, and at the same time scholarly style. One, entitled "Rome and Ireland," discusses the question as to whether Christianity existed in Ireland prior to the time of St. Patrick, and opposes Professor Zimmer's suggestion that Patrick and Palladius were one and the same individual. The writer of another article deals with "The Modern Kenotic Theory" with special reference to the teaching of Bishop Gore.

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*The Health of our Children in the Colonies.* By Lilian Robinson. 182 pp. A book for mothers. Published by Longmans. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book by a lady doctor who has had several years' experience both in India and in South Africa. The greater part of the useful advice which it contains would be of almost equal value to mothers in England, but we can specially recommend it to missionaries and others who have children with them abroad.

*A Primer of Religion based on the Catechism of the Church of England.* By W. J. Oldfield, formerly Principal of St. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh. 222 pp. Published by Methuen. Price 2s. 6d.

IN the exposition of the Lord's Prayer which forms part of the contents the duty of promoting missionary work throughout the world is clearly and helpfully enforced. The book is specially "intended to help mothers and governesses in home teaching."

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*The Sacred Tenth, or Studies in Tithe-giving Ancient and Modern.* By the Rev. H. Landsdell, D.D. 2 vols., 750 pp. Price 16s. Published by the S.P.C.K.

THE reader who can survive the shock of finding a portrait of the author facing the title page will find some curious and useful information embedded in these volumes. This information might, however, with advantage have been issued in a book one tenth the size of this work. A large portion of these volumes consists of matter of a hortatory character, and notes relating to the author's personal experiences, and nearly 100 pages are devoted to a list of those who possess lay tithes in England.

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*Sri Brahma Dhārā : "Shower from the Highest."* By the Mahatma "Sri Agamya Guru Paramahansa." Luzac & Co. 3s. 6d.

THIS book differs somewhat from the ordinary works which are written for the propagation of the Vedanta philosophy among Englishmen. They are usually explanatory, illuminating, apologetic, and courteously admit that improvement is here and there possible. This book, on the contrary, is magisterial and oracular; it takes the form of a dialogue between pupil and master, and it professes to speak with an air of authority which may possibly befit a *guru*, but which, to outsiders, savours of arrogance. As a philosophic exposition it is contemptible, and the English jargon in which it is composed is worthy of it. And the reader will search in vain for any gleams of spiritual insight, such as often illuminate the sayings of the Indian ascetics of the better class. But it may pass as a fair specimen of the philosophy current among the multitude. A sympathetic Editor says that the author is called the Tiger Mahatma, and has on several occasions before scientific witnesses suspended the pulsations of his heart for over half a minute. A good many Hindu ascetics can do the

same. An English friend of ours, who lived for years among them as one of themselves, saw a man who could apparently suspend the beating of his heart for over half an hour.

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We have received from the S.P.C.K. the following books: "The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Chiswina" (Mashonaland language), 1s. 4d.; Norris' "Manual on the Prayer Book" (vol. 2) in Luganda, 8d.; "The Psalms in the Taveta Language," 1s. 6d.; "Hymns in the Maori Language," 6d.; "Spanish Prayer Book," 6d.; "Temmi Second Reader," 8d.

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Western Australia. Aborigines Department Report for year ending June 30, 1905, presented to the Houses of Parliament (Western Australia); issued at Perth W.A.

# The East and The West

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JULY 1906

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## THE OPIUM TRADE WITH CHINA.

"WHAT line do you take about the Opium question?" "I have never tackled it; it is a very awkward subject." The query was addressed the other day by the writer to a famous missionary in China, a man of strong clear opinions on most subjects, who frequently addresses meetings as preacher on behalf of missions to China.

The Opium question is undoubtedly "a very awkward subject," and I suppose a good many other earnest people have for the same reason been glad to avoid it as far as possible. Some years ago a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury spent some three years in a most careful enquiry into it, and a member of that Committee afterwards told me that he had been astonished at the complexity of the subject.

But "awkward subjects" which touch conscience, individual or national, must be faced sooner or later, by the individual or the nation, or very grave harm will be done to conscience and to life. If they are wilfully ignored when opportunities arise for facing them and dealing with them the moral results must be disastrous. We need not look beyond the range of our own experience for evidence of the truth of this in the case of the individual: and we

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**NOTE.**—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

have before our eyes at this moment a terrible example of its truth in the case of a great European nation, which has brought on itself humiliating defeat and imminent revolution by the refusal of its government to face an "awkward" moral question.

If in our own case the refusal to face the Opium question fairly has not yet borne such disastrous fruit, it is not because it falls into another category. The recent American "Philippine Commission on Opium in the Orient" calls it "one of the gravest if not the gravest moral problem of the Orient." And I venture to assert that everyone who has been at all familiar with China and the Chinese will endorse that judgment. The corruption of the official class in China is a serious difficulty in the way of reform: the gambling tendency of the Chinese of all classes is another grave moral question; but neither of them exceeds in importance, perhaps neither of them even rivals, the Opium difficulty.

It is a grave moral question, and it is one that affects our own national life. In the following pages I have endeavoured to set it forth soberly and fairly before the readers of this Review. I have not attempted to deal with its history, or with the statistics connected with it, in any great detail; for that I would refer my readers elsewhere, especially to the statement of the case by Mr. Joshua Rowntree in his book *The Imperial Drug Trade*, published some three or four years ago. (Methuen.) Nor have I attempted to judge the case of opium consumption as practised by our fellow subjects in India. I have tried to confine myself simply to such aspects of the question as touch our trade with China, as are connected with our national honour, as seem—if we lay any claim to national righteousness—to call for prompt national action.

But inasmuch as my own abhorrence of the *trade* (not of the use of the drug in China, which began much earlier), dates from my first acquaintance with its history, I must begin by a very brief review of the development of the Indian opium trade.

There seems no reason to doubt that opium was imported into China originally by Arab traders from Persia, long before we imported it from India. The poppy seems

also to have been widely grown in China for the sake of the medicinal properties of its seed, at least as early as 1000 A.D. : and opium itself appears in the Chinese Customs Returns as far back as 1589. It is worth mentioning by the way that from the first it bore a foreign name *Afuyung*, which may in a measure account for its modern names of *Yang yoa* (foreign medicine) and *Yang Yen* (foreign smoke).

On the other hand, there is no mention of it in Marco Polo, or in the earliest records of the Roman missions. And though the argument from silence is often precarious, in this case it may reasonably be considered of weight, for no one who travelled in China to-day would be so indifferent to its present effects as to leave it unnoticed.

The eighteenth century saw a great development in its use. The drug began to be imported in larger quantities, and it began to be smoked. The Customs Returns of that day discriminate between *yapien*, the drug for medical use, and *yapien yen* the drug for smoking. Its use for smoking seems to have begun in Formosa and to have spread thence to the mainland; and the immediate consequence was a stern imperial edict condemning its use, issued in 1729. But the power of the drug is astonishingly manifested in the immense hold it took on its victims from the very first. They realised that they *must* have it, and they prepared to pay smugglers' prices to get it. At these prices the temptation to trade was too much for individual Englishmen in the service of the East India Company, and the smuggling trade began, with enormous profits to the English merchant, and in many cases to the corrupt Chinese officials.

The Emperor of China, in 1799, issued another and even stronger edict, but the only result was to put the East India Company into a very awkward position. They naïvely objected to engaging openly in what they called "illicit commerce"; but at the same time they took measures to extend the area under poppy-cultivation, they licensed all ships carrying the private merchants' opium to China, and they instructed their agents at Canton and elsewhere to foster the trade as far as possible, without



appearing to be actually concerned in it. As Mr. Rown-tree pithily remarks :—

“ A Government pushed to the utmost the growth of the poppy, and the manufacture and sale of the drug for the sake of revenue. It licensed the ships that carried the drug, with their captains and crews. It provided that they should be absolutely controlled by its officers in China. It affixed its own stamp to the drug, and took pains that it should be manufactured expressly to suit the taste of the Chinese. Yet because the trade was illegal, it disclaimed, and instructed its officers at the receiving port to disclaim, all knowledge of the trade. . . The Government receiving its income from such a source ostentatiously washed its hands in innocency.”

No one who reads much of the correspondence between the Government and its agents at Canton in the years preceding the first war, will think this extract overstates the case.

The first so-called “ Opium War ” followed—inevitably as one would suppose from such an extraordinary condition of affairs, unless one party was incapable of even pretending to fight. It may be perfectly true that technically the war was not fought on the Opium question. Sir Richard Temple in his evidence before the Convocation Committee called the name “ Opium War ” a complete misnomer : it may be true that it was “ really waged to put a stop to grievances which had been accumulating for a hundred and fifty years ” (Colquhoun) ; it may be even truer that the acts of the Chinese authorities were from an English point of view wholly unjustified and illegal. But the truth of these statements does not touch the main fact, that the opium smuggling, which then constituted the whole of the opium trade, was the real cause of the war, and that, although it was freely condemned, we rather fostered than attempted to prevent it after the war was over. The war lasted from 1839 to 1842, and was closed by the Treaty of Nanking. In that treaty opium was practically ignored, though smuggling was condemned. The Chinese Government would not legalise the trade, and the British Government was content to satisfy itself with such acquisitions as Hong Kong, and the opening of treaty ports, and the payment of a large indemnity. But as soon as these substan-

tial gains (I had almost written this substantial plunder), were secured, the Government pressed for the legalisation of the trade, and allowed a considerable increase in the amount exported annually from India (and obviously smuggled annually into China). It was nothing to them that Warren Hastings had written the cynical sentence :—

“Opium is not a necessary of life, but a pernicious article of luxury which ought not to be permitted but for the purposes of foreign commerce only,” or that the directors of the East India Company in 1817 had put on record, “Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind.” It was nothing that Lord Palmerston himself had stated that “he would be the last to defend a trade which involved the violation of the municipal laws of the Chinese, and which furnished an enormously large population with the means of demoralisation.”

*The trade paid and the trade must go on*, legally if possible, but if not then illegally. The Chinese Commissioners who were negotiating with Sir Henry Pottinger were informed that the matter rested entirely with China. “If your people are virtuous, they will desist from the evil practice : and if your officers are incorruptible and obey your rulers, no opium can enter your country.” Otherwise “you may rest assured your people will procure the drug in spite of every enactment.” Why Sir Henry did not add that the British Government was doing and intended to do all in its power to prevent the former result and to facilitate the latter, is not quite clear. Possibly the moral truisms he had already enunciated seemed an adequate sacrifice at the altar of truth : and after all he is not reported to have said anything obviously untrue.

But such a condition of things could not last. If the conflict of 1839-1842 was inevitable, that of 1857-1860 was no less so. There were, of course, many grievances to be remedied—as there must always be when the stronger man wishes to enter the weaker man’s house—but the whole story of the “Arrow” is lamentable, and one of which we cannot but be ashamed. Sir John Bowring wrote on Oct. 11th, 1857 : “It appears on examination that the ‘Arrow’ had no right to hoist the British flag. But on the 14th, there is no doubt that the lorcha ‘Arrow’ lawfully bore the

British flag." The first letter was written to Mr. (afterwards Sir Harry) Parkes, our Consul at Canton. The second, three days later, to Yeh, the Chinese special Commissioner at Canton. One would like to think that fresh evidence came to light in those three days, though there is no sign of its having done so. At all events the matter was involved in considerable obscurity, for the Law Lords who tried to decide the matter afterwards in England were equally divided as to the status of the "Arrow." But Lord Elgin in a letter of Dec. 9, 1857, put the case with pardonable plainness when he wrote: "Nothing could be more contemptible than the origin of our existing quarrel. . . . I have hardly alluded in my ultimatum to that wretched question of the 'Arrow,' which is a scandal to us, and is so considered by all except the few who are personally compromised."

The result of the second war was the treaty of Tientsin, by which opium was legalised, a small duty of thirty taels per chest,<sup>1</sup> or about 8 per cent. of average value, being agreed to. Here again there seems to be a perfect chaos of opinion as to how far this legalisation was forced upon the Chinese against their real wishes. It is almost incredible, but yet a fact, that two of the English Commissioners, Messrs. Leg and Oliphant, apparently held that there was *no compulsion*, while Sir Thomas Wade, another Commissioner, stated that "as to the duty it would be an abuse of words to say that there was any negotiation at all," and yet a few years later wrote in a dispatch (1868) "nothing that has been gained was received from the free will of the Chinese; more, the concessions made to us have from first to last been extorted against the conscience of the nation, in defiance that is to say of the moral convictions of its educated men." Sir R. Alcock, when asked by the Committee on East Indian Finance, in 1871, whether we forced the Chinese by treaty to take opium, replied, "That is so in effect." No wonder that in reply to a further question from the Chairman whether he meant that we forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take opium, he answered "Yes,

<sup>1</sup> A tael was then worth *about* six shillings.

precisely." Sir Thomas Wade in an official report in 1877, practically affirmed the same thing, when he wrote of the abortive Commercial Convention of 1869 that it was "the first instrument affecting British trade that had not been extorted from the Chinese by force of arms."

Sir J. Rutherford's abortive Convention would have raised the duty on opium from thirty taels to fifty taels a chest, and it was on this point that the Convention was wrecked: the Liberal Government being persuaded not to ratify it. Seven years later Sir Thomas Wade brought about the Chefoo Convention, but the clause relating to the opium duty was so objectionable to the British Government, or to some of its supporters, that it was not ratified till 1885. It raised the duty from thirty to forty taels, and allowed a likin duty of seventy taels to be collected at the port of entry at the same time.

- The long story of misunderstandings and uncertainties as to facts was even then not quite closed. It is almost incredible that the Royal Commission in 1893 assumed the "present freedom of China" to deal with opium as she pleased, apparently on the assumption that as the terms of the Chefoo Convention were only binding for four years, and could then be rescinded by either party at twelve months' notice, China was free not only to rescind them, but to legislate as she pleased against opium. The facts of the case were shown up by Dr. Maxwell, a witness before the Commission. The Commission had based its judgment on official utterances in Parliament; Dr. Maxwell disputed their accuracy, and the Commissioners appealed to the Foreign Office. Here is the reply: "In the event of its termination" (*i.e.* of the Chefoo Convention), "the arrangement under the regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin should be revived." That is the treaty under which we "forced the Chinese to take opium."

This brief summary of the history of the trade will be sufficient to put my readers *en rapport* with the frame of mind in which I found myself after I first studied the matter some years ago.

But we are bidden to consider the present position of affairs, and to find there some justification for letting things alone. We are told, for example, that the trade is gradually

dying out, and that if we leave it alone, it will soon have ceased to exist.

We are told again that China cares so little about the morality of the opium trade, that she is now encouraging the growth of the poppy over immense tracts within her own territory; for example, the area under cultivation increased by 50 per cent. in Yunnan and Scuchuan between 1903 and 1904, and the duty on native opium increased at the same time 100 per cent., from some £65,000 to £125,000. We are told again that the Royal Commission on Opium, in 1893-4 thoroughly investigated the question and found that no case for interference existed, and that it would be neither wise, nor polite, nor just to India to interfere at all.

There is some truth in these statements, and for that reason it will be well to examine them a little more closely. The argument based upon them conflicts directly with the feeling produced by the study of the history of the trade. It is not easy, therefore, to accept them; and, as I said at the beginning of this article, it is not safe to leave the matter alone: failure to deal with great moral issues is as disastrous in national as in individual life.

Let us then examine them a little more closely.

*The first objection* is based on an alleged decrease in the extent of the trade. If left alone, it will die a natural death; interference will disorganise all trade and involve considerable hardship.

Mr. Morley in his recent speech in Parliament (May 30, 1906) laid great stress on this decrease. He took the average Indian revenue for two periods, one of fourteen, the other of eleven years, and stated that from 1886 to 1894 it amounted to five millions, and from 1894 to 1905 to only three millions sterling. That sounds very satisfactory as to the falling off in our Indian trade. But by taking fourteen years for his first period Mr. Morley included three very rich years (1881-1884) in which the revenue was abnormally high; while in the last period he necessarily included a low year 1897-8. A fairer estimate would give the decrease as considerably less marked. Taking two decennial periods 1882-1892 and 1892-1902, I find from the tables given in the appendix to Mr. Rown-

tree's book (copied from the official returns of 1903) that the decrease in revenue works out at 7:5, instead of 5:3 as given in Mr. Morley's speech for two unequal periods. Again, if the loss in revenue be really as great as Mr. Morley would make out, it means that the trade ought to be the more easy to deal with. But the amount of the trade has not fallen in anything like the same degree, and this is distinctly an argument for not delaying to deal with it, *assuming that it is harmful*. Taking again the two decennial periods when the revenue fell from 7 to 5, the amount of trade from 7 to about  $5\frac{1}{2}$ . Further, the figures show a real if slight tendency to increase, between 1898 and 1902, over the period immediately preceding, both in the amount exported and in the revenue derived; and the same check to the downward movement is noticeable if we examine the Chinese Customs Returns. Taking the ten years 1894-1904, the average amount of opium imported for the first five years is 2 per cent. less than for the second five years, and that in spite of the two salient facts which would have led us to expect the reverse. For the production of native opium increased very largely in the latter period, and at the same time the habit of morphia injection grew by leaps and bounds, and both these causes might reasonably have been expected to lessen the demand for Indian opium.

It appears then that we must accept with a good deal of reserve the comfortable theory that the opium trade is dying out of itself. But supposing that it is, one is constrained to ask whether an *ex hypothesi* vicious trade should be persevered in as long as possible, simply on the ground that it will die a natural death all in good time. There seems a strange lack of moral sensibility in such an argument, however specious it may appear to a political economist. Of course, there can be no doubt whatever that any sudden interference with the opium trade, such as its immediate and total prohibition, would be fraught with serious results—for a time at all events—to other branches of trade.

Sir R. Alcock wrote in 1849: "The enormous capital, large revenue, and inseparable connexion of our legitimate trade with opium, as a means of laying down funds in

China, involved in the traffic, precludes all idea of its cessation or removal," and again, in 1852, "the opium trade forms an essential element interference with which would derange the whole circle of operations." Perhaps such statements are less true to-day than they were fifty years ago, for whereas opium was then responsible for some 40 per cent. of the total value of our imports, it is now responsible for only 11 per cent. But let us give all possible weight to this argument, and what does it prove? Simply that it may be inadvisable to deal *suddenly* with the opium trade by a measure of immediate prohibition: it in no way affects the question of our duty to deal *effectively* with it, as being *ex hypothesi* a vicious trade.

*The second objection* is founded on an extraordinary conception of morality. It is urged that England is justified in continuing her opium trade with China, because China has taken to growing opium herself, and is now very largely increasing the amount produced. I leave out of consideration the avowed policy of the Chinese Government in adopting this course (*cf.* the quotation from the evidence of Sir R. Alcock given by Mr. Rowntree on page 98 of his book), I simply assume for the moment that the opium trade stands condemned as vicious in itself. If that is so, *the question whether China does or does not grow opium herself has no bearing on the duty of England in regard to this vicious trade.* I know that this argument is seriously adduced by thoughtful men, such as the present Secretary of State for India: Mr. Morley seems to contemplate the necessity of waiting for China to move in the matter before the Indian Government can be expected to do so. "If it were so," *i.e. if China wanted* freedom from opium, "the thing was done . . . *if China wanted*, seriously and in good faith, to restrict the consumption of this drug in China, the British Government would not close the door." And the House of Commons cheered this noble sentiment. It sounds like an echo of Sir Henry Pottinger's sermon to the Chinese Commissioners sixty years ago. Suppose that a man is induced to gamble by a friend, and that in process of time he acquires a passion for gambling, and at the same time is being rapidly ruined by his friend, is that friend morally justified in continuing to play, in

completing the man's ruin, because he has taught the man his lesson so well that he insists on playing, and on playing with someone else if not with his friend?

Is there no call to abandon an immoral course because it is immoral in itself, and not to wait till some influence stronger than our own undoes, if that be possible, the evil we have done, and makes our victim determined to be free?

One does not like to use hard words about a man whom one respects so highly as the Secretary of State for India. But the policy implied in the quotation I have given, the policy so ingenuously announced as really worthy of the English nation, the policy which apparently won the cheers of the House of Commons, seems to me but a sorry thing. What has become of our boasted national honour, of our national conscience, if we can go no further than to promise not to prevent another nation protecting herself against our vicious trade, if she should hereafter wish to do so?

*The third objection* need not detain us long. Nothing is to be gained, and much sympathy may be forfeited, by indiscriminate abuse, not only of the findings but of the individual members of the Royal Commission on Opium of 1893-4. As was truly said in the pages of this Review last year,<sup>1</sup> "We believe that the smoking of opium does immense harm to China, and that its importation into that country from India ought to be stopped. But we cannot think that those who indulge in indiscriminate abuse of our best and most honoured government officials will do anything but delay the putting a stop to this trade." I prefer to quote the very guarded language of Mr. Morley's recent speech. He stated that "he did not wish to speak in disparagement of that Commission, but somehow or other its findings had failed to satisfy public opinion in this country, and failed to ease the consciences of those who had taken up this matter." And he went on to pour ridicule, all the more biting because so moderately expressed, on the great stress laid by the Commissioners on the medical evidence. "What was the value of that kind of evidence, when we had the evidence of nations who know opium at close quarters?" When it is remembered that this is the deliberate opinion of a man of great experience speaking officially in the House of Commons

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 239.



of a Royal Commission appointed by his former friend and chief Mr. Gladstone, I think we may venture to lay aside the *findings* of the Commission, at least as regards China, where they never went, as of no real value whatever.

In treating these objections, however, I have assumed that the opium trade in itself stands condemned as vicious and immoral. If it is not so, the whole case for interference vanishes at once, and the arguments for maintaining the *status quo* retain their full force unimpaired. We must then try and justify the impression received from a study of the history of the trade, by considering how far the trade in itself is immoral, and unworthy of a nation which prides itself on being righteous, if not Christian.

In considering the morality of the trade, we may keep somewhat apart two distinct questions: first, what constitutes a moral trade between individuals or nations; secondly, the nature of the opium trade with China as judged by its effects, and the justification for classing it as an essentially immoral trade. *As to the first question*, while individual liberty needs to be safeguarded, society exercises a right to give or withhold its sanction in the case of any particular trade. But I think we should most of us be willing to go further than this, and to condemn any man who wilfully sold to his fellow man what he knew would be harmful to him. The cynic may defend the publican who sells more drink to an already intoxicated customer, or the chemist who knowingly sells poison to a would-be suicide. But most of us are not cynics, and as a matter of fact we readily support society in its efforts to put a stop to such evil practices, not simply because we do not wish to see the drunkard more drunk, or the suicide successful in his purpose, but because we cannot afford to allow moral evil to be encouraged by one individual for the sake of material gain, at the expense of another individual, however immoral the latter may be. In a word, we should be ashamed of ourselves if we made a profit, individually, out of a clearly immoral trade, and we are prepared to prevent others doing so, where we have the power to prevent it.

As a nation, we acknowledge the same principles as binding in several familiar directions. The laws of contra-

band in time of war have their root in the moral sense of nations : the encouragement of revolution in Russia by the sale of government stores to the rebels, at whatever profit to the War Office, would be at once condemned, not from any fear of the Russian Government, but because of its inherent immorality. If the Chicago factories were American Government monopolies, do we suppose for a moment that the American nation would allow poisonous foodstuffs to be exported to England, when once convinced that they were actually, or even might be, poisonous? Do we not feel convinced that, as it is, the American nation will put a stop to the practices which have enriched certain individuals at a serious risk to human life elsewhere as well as in America, and that not from any fear of us but from a sense of morality?

And we may go yet further. The cynic who defended the individual will be slower to defend the nation, because national life involves the recognition of the bonds of fellowship between man and man, and therefore also between nation and nation. National honour is every man's concern, however ready he may be to disown responsibility for the honour of another individual.

In a word, the righteousness of any trade is acknowledged to exist only when the article traded is not directly harmful to the buyer ; where such harm can be shown to exist, the trade stands condemned, not only between individuals, but *à fortiori* between nations.

*As to the second question, viz., the nature of the opium trade with China as judged by its effects in the country, it would be easy to fill a whole number of this Review with evidence to prove the harmfulness of opium as used in China.* (Let me repeat that I am not now concerned to discuss its use in India, nor even in Burma, where I have no knowledge from personal experience, and as to which opinions differ, at all events much more than they do about the results of its use in China.) I will content myself with quoting one or two recent opinions, leaving my readers to refer to Mr. Rowntree's excellent book, or to their own friends in China, if they need further confirmation ; and I will venture to illustrate my point from my own personal experience.

Mr. Morley in his recent speech quoted Lieutenant-Colonel Manifold's opinion as to the use of opium in Yunnan. "The ravages it is making in men, women and children are deplorable. . . . I was quite able to realise that anyone who has seen the wild abuse of opium in Yunnan would have a wild abhorrence of it." Lieutenant-Colonel Manifold is a traveller of sober judgment, long experience, and a qualified doctor.

I came across the report of the Convocation Committee on Opium the other day : a report drawn up in 1885 after some years of investigation. The Committee found that "abundant proof existed that opium smoking as practised by the Chinese was a pernicious habit, peculiarly insidious in its temptations and difficult to break off, while ruinous to the constitution and in most cases to the character of the smoker."

The American Philippine Commission, while evidently most anxious to avoid any overstatement, and carefully guarding their conclusions as based not on proper statistics which were unattainable, but on the evidence of a great many witnesses whom they had examined, sum up their conclusions as follows :—

"It is generally conceded (1) that the user of opium commonly increases his dose : (2) that he is worthless and unfit for work when deprived of his customary dose, whether it be large or small : (3) that the effects of the drug are the same in kind on Chinese and Europeans : and (4) that the excessive use of opium is in all ways deleterious. . . . The weight of the testimony seems to be to the effect that Chinese firms prefer not to employ opium users in positions of trust—there is, however, testimony to the contrary"—and they assert without any reservation that "in the opinion of certain Chinese merchants and Taotais" (the latter Government officials of high rank) whom they met in conference, "no man can smoke opium for a long time without harm to himself . . . the tendency to increase the quantity was generally acknowledged."

Let me add a few words from the same source as to the attitude of Japan in regard to opium :—

"The opium law of Japan forbids the importation, the possession, and the use of the drug except as a medicine. . . . The Government is determined to keep the opium habit strictly confined to what they deemed to be its legitimate use, which use even

they seem to think is dangerous enough to require special safeguarding. . . . The Japanese to a man fear opium as we fear the cobra or the rattlesnake. . . . No surer testimony to the reality of the evil effects of opium can be found than the horror with which China's next-door neighbour views it."

My own personal experience, during sixteen years in North China, entirely bears out the opinions I have quoted, opinions which could be multiplied a hundredfold without any difficulty. I do not adduce it as being in itself of any value, but simply as illustrating what I have already said. A Chinese gentleman of my acquaintance—himself in youth a confirmed smoker, who was successfully cured at the second attempt—once summed up the position in some such words as these :—

"Opium is not like wine or lust. The former never becomes necessary, and the quantity taken to-day has no relation to that taken yesterday. The latter is indulged for a time, but nature and circumstances very soon put some restraint upon it. Opium smoking on the other hand, once made a habit, remains a life-long craving, and a craving that is not satisfied except by an ever-increasing dose, until at length the smoker finds in it his meat and drink, and his very life: but as he increases the quantity, so he decreases his life, and he may be said to be dead long before he dies."

Another acquaintance, holding a very responsible position in a large English business, told me one day that he had withdrawn his guarantee for his nephew, because he could no longer be trusted. He wondered why his English employers had not already dismissed him. When I ventured to enquire the reason, his answer was simply—"He smokes opium."

I remember during the siege of the Legations, when every Chinese who applied for rations had to do a day's work at the fortifications to earn them, a big hulking man of the middle class protested his inability to do any work at all. He was the only one that I came across who attempted to shirk his work, and he confessed that the want of opium had entirely upset him. To my knowledge he went without food for several days, but I lost sight of him after that. I mention the case because it was a crucial test of the reality of what is so constantly affirmed, that the

opium sot deprived of his opium is useless. (It should be remembered that almost every man in the Legations during the siege was a Christian, and that every denomination of Christians exclude opium smokers rigorously. Otherwise there would have been many more such cases.)

Lastly, I never met an opium smoker in any class of life who cared to acknowledge the habit. I have met hundreds who persistently denied it, long after they must have known that further concealment was really useless. The great majority of the smokers I have known and spoken to have expressed themselves as bitterly regretting that they had ever contracted the habit, and as despairing of ever being able to shake it off.

To sum up, the answer to this second question as to the nature of the opium trade as judged by the effects of the use of opium in China, the conclusion is simply irresistible to anyone who knows the facts, that the effects of opium as used in China are so pernicious that the British trade in it stands condemned as immoral. And let it be remembered that the extent of the trade, *i.e.*, of the importation of Indian opium, as of the growth of native opium, in no way affects this conclusion. The effects of the use of opium in China being what they are, were the trade to sink to a thousand chests a year, or to a hundred, or to ten, its immorality would remain as flagrant as it is to-day, as it has ever been.

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But if this is so, how comes it that the trade has been allowed to continue so long? Is not the very fact of its continuance a kind of warning against so sweeping an accusation of immorality?

The American Commission supplies an answer, of which the very indirectness adds to the sting: "The opium question in Japan is viewed solely as a moral problem, and legislation is enacted *without the distraction of commercial motives and interests.*" Dr. Arudo put the hideous truth more plainly when he wrote to a friend in 1842 of "the demoralising drug which the Government of China wishes to keep out, and which we, for love of gain, want to introduce by force." Lord Elgin put it no less frankly before the Shanghai merchants in 1858: "Neither

our consciences nor the judgment of mankind will acquit us, if, when asked to what use we have turned our opportunities, we can only say we have filled our pockets from among the ruins which we have found or made."

A House of Commons Committee in 1832 ignored morality but adhered to fact when it reported: "In the present state of the revenue of India, it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue, a duty upon opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer." As Mr. Rowntree scathingly remarks, the then "present state of the Indian revenue" has remained equally potent ever since, and the foreign consumer has never come inside the pale of consideration, except when morphia threatened to undermine the more lucrative opium habit.

I will only quote one more witness, the present Secretary of State for India. In the speech to which I have more than once alluded, Mr. Morley said quite plainly, "The Indian argument, and it was his argument, was a very potent argument, revenue. . . . How was the three millions of revenue to be replaced?"

It comes then to this: that, for the sake of a present revenue to India of some three millions sterling, the British nation is bound to a confessedly immoral trade. What should we think of the Chicago packing firms if they pleaded their extra profits as a justification for continuing the recently-divulged iniquitous methods of production? Is one law to be applied to them and another to ourselves?

It is for the nation to force the Government to action: to refuse to allow the plea that we must wait to wash our hands of this great immorality until forsooth we are importuned to do so by China, a heathen nation whom we have for centuries affected to despise. When the nation chooses to force the Government to act, this Government or another Government will have to solve the difficult problem of how to act effectively. But there is no possible doubt, if the evidence of the best-informed witnesses is worth anything, that (1) if we would abandon the trade, we should not have long to wait before China took in hand an effective control of opium consumption, on the lines which the

Japanese are pursuing in Formosa, and which the Americans may adopt or improve upon in Manila; and (2) that the almost immediate result of that would be such a boom in China trade as would more than make up for the loss of this unclean revenue which we now allow India to enjoy.

That loss, of course, must not be allowed to fall on India, in the way of increased taxation. The revenue derived from the opium trade has really been always a national rather than a purely Indian asset, even if it has not figured in Parliamentary Budgets: and the responsibility for it has been too frequently assumed by Parliament to admit of our shirking our responsibility now. The sin—for sin it has been and is—is ours; so must the expiation be. But “there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner”—whether an individual or a nation—“that repenteth” of his sin.

FRANK L. NORRIS.

## TRANSMIGRATION.

It is impossible to carry on missionary work in India in any rational way without understanding the minds of the people. Back of all our methods is the material on which we work. What about the people themselves? What kind of minds have they? What do they think about? What do they believe? What are their dominating ideas? And so we will endeavour to study one particular aspect of the vast and complex system of Hinduism; a universal belief that underlies the whole system, and most powerfully affects the life and character of the people—the strange, weird dogma of the transmigration of the soul. And in doing this we shall be able to realise afresh the exceeding force of the passive resistance which such a belief offers to the acceptance of the Gospel; and hence something of the peculiar difficulties, intellectual and moral, with which missionaries have to contend in India.

At the same time the subject is so vast and involved that all that can be done is to try to indicate the most salient points of the belief. These will fall naturally under the following heads:—The primitive belief in its world-wide form; the explanation of the belief and its place in Hindu thought; the elements of truth in the belief; the Hindu argument for it, and the modern reply; the criticism of the belief; its effects on the life and character of the people; and consequently the obstacles it presents to the preaching of the Gospel.

1. Transmigration or metempsychosis—according as we use a Latin or a Greek word—which means the passing of the soul after death into some other earthly body, is a very ancient and wide-spread belief; and it has certainly been held, though in very different forms, by some of the greatest minds.



The time and place of the birth of the doctrine are unknown. Indeed, the primitive belief, that the souls of the dead can make their dwelling-place in animals or trunks of trees or plants, has been met with all over the world among peoples of low civilisation ; in Mexico and Peru ; among the North American Indians ; the aborigines of Australia ; and various tribes of Africa. The Indian Santhals believe that the souls of the good enter into fruit-bearing trees. The embalming of their dead by the ancient Egyptians and their worship of beasts were connected with the belief. In Greece, philosophers such as Pythagoras and Plato taught it, but in a form very different from that of Hindu or Buddhist ; though the dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy and science is regarded by some writers as highly probable. That the Jews were acquainted with the belief appears from several parts of the Talmud. It prevails at the present day in India, Ceylon, Burma, Thibet, Tartary, China, *i.e.* in all countries where Hinduism or Buddhism is professed ; and it is therefore accepted by a large proportion of the human race.

2. Coming now to India, it seems certain that the ancient Aryans did not bring the belief with them into the country. There is no trace of it to be found in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, beyond a stray reference in the tenth and last book, and of a much later date than the others, to the soul of a dead man going to the waters or plants. The conception is, indeed, foreign to Vedic modes of thought, which conceived of the souls of the good going to a blissful paradise, where they joined the company of the fathers. The prevailing use, too, of animals in sacrifice and for human food in those early times is a presumption against the Vedic belief in transmigration. In the view of Gough and other writers, the idea was adopted by the Aryan settlers from the aborigines of the country ; and if so, their psychological subtlety succeeded in elaborating out of it a theory of eschatology that is without a parallel elsewhere, and that has dominated the belief of the Indian people down to the present day.

The importance of the dogma cannot be overestimated. While to the ordinary Western mind it contains something

so uncanny and grotesque that it is difficult to approach it seriously, to the Indian mind it is at the bottom of all their thinking. It enters, indeed, so vitally into the whole genius of Indian speculation, and so deeply into the mental consciousness of the people, not as a popular superstition, but as the main principle of all Hindu metaphysics, the *foundation of all Hindu philosophy*; it is so interwoven with the incitements to an ascetic and holy life, giving rise to all the self-torture of the devotee, that Hindus assume it without a doubt, and with the most absorbing interest, in all their arguments, and cannot imagine a state of things in which it should not be true. Professor Macdonnell, in his recent *History of Sanskrit Literature*,<sup>1</sup> observes:—"There is, perhaps, no more remarkable fact in the history of the human mind than that this strange doctrine, never philosophically demonstrated, should have been regarded as self-evident for 2,500 years by every philosophical school or religious sect in India, excepting only the Materialists," *i.e.* the heretical and sceptical school of the Chārvākas. There may be momentous differences on every other matter concerning God and man and the universe; but transmigration is the one belief that possesses cardinal value, on which Hindus of every sect and every shade of opinion are agreed.

From a physiological point of view this Indian idea of successive lives—so foreign to our modes of thought—is a form of the more general primitive belief, based on the resemblances between ancestors and their descendants, and between the faculties and instincts of men and of beasts—that the souls of ancestors passed into children and of men into beasts. But for the philosophy of the doctrine we must go deeper—to the *unity of all being*: that all souls are portions or emanations of the Universal Soul; and as such must eventually return to their source, as rivers run into the sea.

Transmigration in India thus had its roots in the Brahmanical theosophic or pantheistic conception of God. The idea of soul is fundamentally different in the East and in the West.<sup>2</sup> The religious philosophies of Europe are based on

<sup>1</sup> Page 387.

<sup>2</sup> See Crozier's *History of Intellectual Development*, vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

the principle—adduced from what is highest in the human mind—of a self-conscious Intelligence and Will, a Personal God, as their final cause, and as their conception of soul; and hence it is that in Western systems of thought and religion reincarnation and transmigration are unknown, while the personal continuance and immortality of man are held. But in Hindu philosophy, where soul is the vital principle of nature—a purely negative principle, without thought or emotion of any kind—a vague, diffused essence which can unite with the minds and bodies of each and every species of man, animal, or plant, indifferently—in such a pantheistic system, a scheme of transmigration naturally emerges, and is, indeed, required for logical completeness, where the great object is the union of the individual soul (*Jīvātma*) with the Universal Soul (*Paramātma*).

According to Hinduism, the universe is made up of innumerable souls and innumerable bodies. The souls have existed from all eternity, either as separate entities or as emanations from the Supreme; they are not created. Bodies are of all kinds—divine, human, demonic, animal, vegetable, and mineral; and they are all possessed by souls. This accounts for the great regard that Hindus cherish for all animal life; animals are tenanted by human souls. The famine in Gujerat in 1901 was said to have been largely owing to a plague of rats. The farmers said:—“These are the spirits of all our friends who died during the famine; they died of hunger: now they have returned in rats’ form to eat the food due to them. How could we kill them?”

Why then does a soul occupy a particular body, at any given time, either higher or lower in the scale of creation? Because of some act committed, good or bad, in a former birth. We are born into the world, so we are told, time after time, with the general mould of our life as cast in preceding incarnations. Our present condition is the exact result of the separate acts and habits of a former life. We have somehow, somewhere, shaped it for ourselves. Each act of the soul (*Karma*) must work out its full effect (*Vipāka*) to the sweet or bitter end.

The unborn, eternal soul, originally pure, the *Atma*, by

becoming through its *Karma* chained to matter, which, in Eastern systems, is essentially evil, becomes the *Jīvātma*, and acquires degrees of impurity which have to be purged away by successive transmigrations, alternated with periods of reward or punishment, in graduated heavens or hells. These awards of merit or demerit, contracted in a former life, being exhausted, a new birth on earth has to be taken, determined by the previous lives. The sinner descends, the righteous ascends, in the scale of being. He who takes the life of a Brahman is punished 100 or 1,000 years in the several hells, and is then born again in a dog, boar, ass, camel, bull, goat, sheep, stag, or bird—degraded according to his crime. An offender against a Guru migrates 100 times into the forms of grasses, shrubs, plants, &c. If a man steals a cow, he shall be born again as a crocodile or lizard; if he steals grain, as a rat; if fruit, as an ape, and so on.<sup>1</sup> Manu, the Hindu lawgiver, speaks of “the gliding of the soul through 10,000 millions of wombs.”<sup>2</sup> The world, according to the Hindu conception—which corresponds to a large extent with Plato’s—is thus peopled with countless bodies, the temporary abodes of fallen human souls, all expiating their sins in these cycles of unceasing transmigration (*Samsāra*).

If we ask what is the origin and explanation of it all, we are told one of two things: either that the inequalities of existence have existed from the beginning, in the Divine Creation of the different castes, according to Manu; or, according to the Vedānta philosophy, from all eternity: explanations that simply push the difficulty back into infinity, and only intensify the mystery. To make merit or demerit eternal empties them of all ethical significance, and is eternal punishment backwards instead of forwards.<sup>3</sup>

But how now is deliverance to come? The bondage is due to works, good or bad; and to ignorance of the true, divine nature of the soul. When a birth is taken, action of some kind begins. And virtue and vice—the result of action—create merit and demerit; the one needs to be rewarded and the other punished; so that new virtues as

<sup>1</sup> *Institutes of Manu*, xii. 55-67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 63.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Epiphany* of July 14, 1900, there was an able summary of a prolonged controversy on transmigration that had gone on in its pages.

well as new vices only prolong the miserable round of births and deaths. Birth is thus not a blessing, but the penalty of previous sin. The aim of the soul should therefore be to snap the chain, by getting rid of works and births altogether, by eradicating the desires: and then, when there is no longer the ripening of actions into merit or demerit, and when, by knowledge, the identity of the human and the Divine Spirit is realised, the soul, purified and liberated, is fit to join the Universal Soul. Final beatitude—the grand problem of all the Hindu systems—is then attained, though only by the elect few: and such beatitude is loss of personality—cessation of self-conscious being. *Nirvāna* or absorption—the one or the other—is welcomed as a relief. That is the only salvation believed in or desired; salvation, not from the burden of sin, but from the burden of existence. And Hindus often say that we Westerns make too much of individual immortality; and that to become one with the Universal Soul—to become part of a larger whole—is altogether a higher and nobler thought.

But if we look deeper we shall find that this desire for non-existence is really the outcome of despair; and we see the striking contrast between the Christian belief in God as a Person, and the consequently vivid sense which the believer in Christ possesses of a personal and continuous life beyond the grave, both for himself and for those who have “gone before,” and the Hindu belief that there is no personal life at the basis of things—no self-consciousness in the Supreme Spirit—and therefore no ground for the permanence of self-consciousness in finite persons, and no hope of reunion with friends who have passed away. *Personality* is at the root of all the most vital differences between Hinduism and Christianity. Being ignorant also of the *Christian view of life and suffering*, in which both are regarded as educational steps to a higher, brighter, fuller life beyond, the Indian problem was how to shake off all personality, and escape from the misery of the world, with its repeated births, as soon as possible. The solution was *Mukti*—liberation—and absorption into the Supreme: for only when the individual soul was *lost in the Universal Soul* could self-consciousness perish.

This astounding conclusion, so opposed to the Western mind, but constituting the highest summit of Indian thought, was thus based on what is now—in the light of Christian teaching—seen to have been a mistaken and pessimistic view of life, which supplied false premises in a dogma of transmigration, unsupported by any evidence, and untaught in the most ancient hymns of the Rig-Veda. Such a dogma proved a burden too great to bear; and final absorption into and identity with the Supreme was the haven of rest found for the tossed and wearied spirit.

Further, this belief that the highest beatitude consists in the loss of individual consciousness was obliged to rest on another assumption, *viz.* that the psychic or subtle body—the *linga sarīra*—which serves as the organism of the spirit and constitutes the ego, and accompanies the soul in all its migrations, finally perishes—another startling conclusion. But does it, and why should it? Its destruction is assumed only to maintain consistently the fundamental position of the philosophy—that loss of consciousness, profound and dreamless sleep (*parama-samādhi*), or religious trance, is the highest bliss. But the Christian philosopher stands on higher ground with regard to the future life, and has, in the risen Christ, the promise and the pledge that the psychic or spiritual body, to which St. Paul refers, with its individual consciousness, lives on and lives for ever in a higher and glorified condition.

We thus see—and the point has great significance—that it was assumptions such as these that afforded the first motive to Indian speculation, and are at the root of Indian philosophy and religion. What if the whole should be an elaborate and subtle process of false reasoning? Explode the dogma of transmigration, and the entire framework and *raison d'être* of the Hindu systems of philosophy and of the still earlier *Upanishads* is removed, since their one object of research is to find a deliverance from successive births; though all that is true and beautiful in them would still remain.

This fascinating belief in reincarnation—for it fascinates, while it has always been regarded as the direst calamity by the people of India, the root of all evil—begins to

appear, though not as yet clearly defined, in the pedantic teaching of the *Brāhmanas*, or sacrificial rituals, professedly founded on the Rig-Veda, and becomes fully developed and completely accepted in those earliest theosophic treatises—the *Upanishads*—or about 600 B.C. ; when, as we have seen, a heavy gloom settled on men's spirits, and instead of the healthful, cheerful view taken of human existence in Vedic times, life becomes not only a mystery, but a terror and a curse. The dogma is still more elaborately expounded in the Laws of Manu ; is also assumed and argued on in the best book India has produced, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and is likewise taught in the most worthless productions—the *Purānas*.

It is specially noteworthy that the dogma of transmigration grew up in an age of priestly tyranny and darkness. "Sacerdotalism," says Principal Fairbairn,<sup>1</sup> "could not allow those who had despised its authority to pass for ever out of its power ; and transmigration did for the Eastern priesthood what purgatory did for the Western : " it strengthened the authority of priestcraft by means of terror. The doctrine had its roots, as we have seen, in the Brahmanical conception of God ; but while the Brahmins made the theosophic theory of emanation the basis of their claims, the sanctions which enforced them were drawn from the migrations of the soul before it could attain union with Brahma. Priestcraft, the curse of all religions, is ever founded on dogmas that create despair.

In Buddhism—which was the logical outcome of the atheistic Sāṅkhya philosophy on the speculative side, and of pantheism on the theological—both the soul and God have practically no existence. Belief in soul being the motive power that quickened the desires which had to be eradicated, and the Brahmanical God having become an object of terror, Buddha consequently repudiated both, and explained the problem of the world by his doctrine of *Karma*—i.e. the survival of the effects of actions or character. *Karma*, the force of physical causation, was his substitute for God ; and, indeed, his pessimistic reading of human life made the existence of God incredible. But

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in the Philosophy of History and Religion*, p. 140.

Buddha, though discarding the traditional theory of emanation, welcomed the kindred theory of transmigration—not of souls, but of *Karma*—on moral grounds. The striking contrast of good men suffering and of bad men prospering can only be explained by going forward to another life or backward to past lives ; and Buddha went chiefly backward, and postulated myriads of lives that set in action merit or demerit.

3. Now we shall readily admit that, as in all great errors, there are *certain truths* underlying this strange belief ; and it has undoubtedly been these truths which have given the dogma its vitality and continuance during so many centuries. The Hindu belief witnesses, *e.g.* to the continued existence of the soul in a future life ; to the conservation of moral energy. It is the idea of immortality that clothes itself in more or less elaborate theories of transmigration.

It witnesses also to the stern reality of law, and to the great truth that sin is inevitably followed by suffering ; that demerit must receive its penalty. It offers, especially, a strong support to that instinct of justice which is innate in human nature, and to that retributive power of action which all religions recognise. Every action must inevitably meet with a recompense exactly corresponding to it. It may be delayed, but the longest standing account has to be settled at last. There is the completest reign of law, and the universe is ruled by the most inexorable justice. There is no possible escape from the result of any act. The force has been set in motion by the soul itself, and can never stop ; for it depends on a completed cause, now for ever beyond the soul's control, and unremembered. At the same time, the doctrine, properly understood, makes every man the architect of his own fate ; for as every bad deed must be expiated, so, if we *add* in this life to the sum of our good actions, we shall be rewarded in some future existence.

Here, then, Hinduism comes very near to the Christian teaching which reverences spiritual law, and affirms that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap ;" though this is by no means the same as the Hindu counter



part, that whatsoever a man reaps in the present life that *he himself* must also have sown—in a former life.

The tissue of the life to be  
We weave in colours all our own ;  
And in the field of destiny  
We reap as we have sown.

Or, as the Hindu proverb has it :—

Who plants mangoes, mangoes shall he eat ;  
Who plants thorn-bushes, thorns shall wound his feet.

And in the words of the *Māhābārata* :—

As among a thousand cows a calf finds its mother,  
So the deed previously done follows after the doer.

Or, in the striking words of the old Sanskrit sage in the same great epic (XII.) :—

Yes, all the deeds that men have done,  
In light of day, before the sun,  
Or veiled beneath the gloom of night,  
The good, the bad, the wrong, the right,  
These, though forgotten, reappear,  
And travel, silent, in their rear.

We see, then, that there are certain valuable ethical principles underlying the belief in transmigration ; and the argument invariably brought forward in support of it is that it best satisfies the requirements of justice in the moral government of the world, and best explains the present mixture of good and evil among men ; the apparent unfairness in the distribution of happiness and misery ; the puzzling inequalities of life, and in particular, the inequalities of *birth*. This is a problem that would seem to have weighed with peculiar heaviness on the Indian mind, as it realised all too keenly the sharp social contrasts that have been accentuated by the tyranny of caste. And this perplexity was no doubt at the bottom of the origin of the re-birth theory, coupled with the old-world notion that all suffering presupposes personal sin. Unless we postulate *former* stages of either virtuous or vicious existence, partiality and injustice must, according to the Hindu, be ascribed to God.

Why, for example, is one man born rich, another poor? One man born a king, another a peasant? One man a genius, another an idiot? One in the full possession of all his powers and limbs, and another a cripple, or blind, or leprous? In the same family, why is one child born in robust health, while another is a sufferer all his days? Why does one soul see light in the Australian bush, while another is ushered into the full-blown civilisation of the West? That is to say, how do we explain the environments into which we are born? Are they determined by accident, or is it not rather that as our *past* has been, so we find our present?

4. Now in these days of modern science, *heredity* no doubt explains much in the ancient problem of life that gave rise to the belief in transmigration. It establishes the transmission from parents to children of tendencies to particular ways of action, and accounts in a scientific manner for certain conditions into which we are born. Science is a realm of light; and the re-birth hypothesis arose in a time when science was unknown. Like the dogma of the eternity of souls, it is not a universal and necessary truth, but belongs only to the conventions and opinions of a particular class of people.

There is certainly a strong analogy between heredity and *Karma*, though it is not complete. Heredity, *e.g.* operates only within the *same* species; though, as Dr. Wallace points out in his *Darwinism*,<sup>1</sup> it represents in ever varying degrees the diverse characteristics of a man's two parents, four grand-parents, eight great-grand-parents; taking account, indeed, of one's entire ancestry. *Karma*, on the other hand, operates through *all* species of animated being. And yet, since the person who originally started my chain of *Karma* was no more my present self than my grandfather was—the *nexus* that links successive births being, not a continuous personality, but only some physical chain—the law of *Karma* may be regarded as the law of heredity in a different form. It is true that Hindus sometimes urge that hereditary transmission concerns only the physical and mental qualities, and does not touch the

<sup>1</sup> Page 439.

soul—the psychic or atmic qualities ; and that the question is not “*whence*,” but “*why*” a certain soul should have a certain body. But there is such a close relation between the moral and spiritual nature and its present body, that such a law as heredity must affect the higher part of our nature, and cannot be excluded from any scheme of spiritual philosophy.

But granting all that heredity explains, there is still left a large amount of mystery and much inequality and pain that cannot be accounted for in our earthly life ; and we can only fall back upon Christian teaching, which has corrected the old notion of suffering, such as is presented to us in the Book of Job, and which underlies the dogma of transmigration, *vis.* that all suffering is simply *punitive*, and has given us in its stead the brighter and far higher conception, taught and exemplified by Christ Himself, that suffering has a benign place in the Divine plan ; that it is a Father’s discipline designed to bring us out of evil, a Divine means of training for perfection. It tries and tests our goodness in the case of good men, and becomes a condition of higher good alike to the man himself and to others ; just as prosperity may be a test to a bad man, to see if he will be the better or the worse for it. We may rest assured that God our Father selects for each of us a special lot, with all its events and possibilities and responsibilities, just as He sees best for us ; not as the award of past conduct of which we know nothing, but in order that it may prove an education for the soul, the means of working out its own individual destiny. And all the so-called penalties which we may inherit through the solidarity of the race, or which we may have brought upon ourselves, may be turned, *by God’s grace*, into blessings, if rightly understood and accepted. The mystery of sin and suffering, and the strange inequalities of life, will always remain a mystery, apart from those *redemptive processes* unfolded to us in the Christian Gospel.

5. But we pass now to notice certain *positive objections* that may be urged against the belief in transmigration. Unlike the law of heredity, which is an established fact, it is unproved and incapable of proof, lying as it does

outside the sphere of proof; and the great demand of modern thought is verification. Again, the dogma seems to be at variance with other Hindu doctrines, based on quite different theories of life. It is difficult to reconcile it with Vedantism. If the individual soul is really identical with the one Supreme Soul, and its apparent distinction from it and from other souls is only the result of *Māyā* or illusion, then transmigration itself is all an illusion. Moreover, if, as Kapila pointed out, all souls are absolutely one, each person would be the same in his mental and moral state; and there would be a uniformity of actions and of birth conditions.

Further, can transmigration and the eternity of souls both be true? A chain of countless links of cause and effect cannot, in the nature of things, be endless; and human souls, whose reason for existence is action and the fruit of action, cannot be eternal. If the law of *Karma* is said to be as eternal as God, then the primal injustice must be imputed to the Divine Being. And is not the belief opposed to the worship of ancestors and to the *śrāddha* or funeral ceremonies? The two proceed on opposite theories of life. The Vedas represent the spirits of the departed—the *Pitris*—not as migrating, but as dwelling with Yama, the King of the departed; and these ancestors disappear in transmigration. How can the Hindu widow hope by *Sati* to rejoin her husband; for where is he? And if every soul must work out its *Karma*, what right have others, by any *śrāddha* ceremonies, to try to arrest the processes of justice?

The dogma is inconsistent also with the brighter Hindu belief in Divine mercy. Intellectual philosophy reasons out the one; the human heart, in the intervention of its *Avatārs*, yearns for the other: and these two schools of thought and feeling have never been reconciled in Hinduism.

Transmigration is unscientific. It offers violence to the known constitution of things. To suppose that brutes and plants can be tenanted by miscreant human spirits, without displaying it, is to disturb the classified types of science, and is utterly inconceivable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Griffith's *Essay on the Bhagavad-Gita*, pp. 1, 2.

It is at variance with the universal law of development. The march of Nature is progressive and ascending, not self-revolving and retrogressive. Transmigration is *said* to be evolutionary. And the workings of this idea may perhaps be seen in the several incarnations of Vishnu; from the bodies of animals through the transitional form of half an animal and half a man, to that of the complete man, commencing with the smallest type—a dwarf—and rising to mighty heroes.

But *man* is made an exception in the universe. When he is maturing and ought to take a higher step in the scale of being, he is rudely thrust back and degraded to a brute, a worm, or a pumpkin; despoiled of all that is noble, and hopeful, and divine in him. And why is this? Because the outward condition of the soul is in each new birth determined by *each action in succession* in a previous birth, and not by the balance struck. That is the most striking feature of the doctrine of *Karma*. "A good man," says Rhys Davids,<sup>1</sup> "who has once uttered a slander, may spend a hundred thousand years as a god in consequence of his goodness, and when the power of his good actions is exhausted, may be born as a dumb man on account of his transgression." The application of the doctrine is as minute as it is wide. It is related by Burnouf that a son of King Asoka was in a previous life a huntsman, and he once put out the eyes of 500 gazelles. For that action he suffered the pains of hell for many hundred thousand years, and thereafter had *his* eyes put out 500 times in as many human lives.<sup>2</sup> Karmic justice, knowing only the outward man, takes hold of *every single deed*, whenever done, and after however long a lapse of time, and so disturbs and puts back what may be a growing character. The Divine righteousness, with truer, deeper eyes that penetrate the heart, deals with *character* as a whole; and whatever our *present* principle of action is, that is essentially our character.

Once more, the dogma is unphilosophical, seeing that the soul, with its marvellous powers of recollection, never remembers anything of former births. All the items of

<sup>1</sup> The Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 360-370.

knowledge at any time thrown up in consciousness are related to the one single life we have had in our present body. It is true that this difficulty is evaded by the Hindu systems maintaining that at each death the soul is divested, as we have seen, of mind, understanding, and consciousness. But this assumption only increases the philosophical confusion. And if it is urged that the ancient *rishis* or some great *yogis* have possessed or produced this power of recollection, it is a mere assertion; and no one in the present day pretends to have such power; and for it to be of any value the faculty ought to be universal.

Hence it follows that the dogma is unjust. Where is the morality of punishment for faults that we cannot call to mind, and cannot connect with ourselves?

It is consequently non-remedial, and fails to effect the purification and development of the people. If a person cannot say, "I committed that crime," he can make no confession; he cannot be urged to penitence, because he can feel no guilt. And how can any one be improved by being sent back to the very world where he became impure, still less by being made to inhabit a cow, a boar, or a centipede? The soul is debased, denaturalised, and is placed beyond the reach of sympathy and redemption. Not by being united to a lower animal, but by being *united to a Higher Nature*, do we learn to forsake the ways of sin.

6. But it is, after all, the *universal effect* of the belief, the deadening way it acts on the Hindu conscience and character, which constitutes the missionary's chief difficulty, and becomes such a serious obstacle to the right apprehension of religious truth. Must not positive harm be done when people are taught to believe in the *existence* of sin where there is *no conscience* of sin?<sup>1</sup> Conscience cannot condemn us for acts of which we have no remembrance. One of our hardest tasks in India, in pressing home the Gospel, is to get at the conscience of the people. When we would seek it, and find it, and appeal to it, it seems not to be. And why? If conscience be dead with

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Hooper's *Lecture on Transmigration*.

regard to past sin which we cannot call to mind, it will also be dead to the actual sins of the present ; sins which we can and must attribute to ourselves. Conscience, paralysed by a false belief, fails to do its proper work.

Calamity befalls a Hindu. Perhaps he is really suffering the consequence of some misdeed ; or he is in a condition from which he *ought* to extricate himself. What is his own view of the situation ? He is very unlucky ; fate is against him ; it is his *Karma* ; it is written on his forehead ; his calamity is the effect of some unknown deed done in a previous life ; he is destined to it, and must therefore passively submit. It does not affect his conscience, and so he remains callous and unmoved.

There are some 200,000 deaf-mutes in India, of which, according to a recent census, 24,520 are to be found in the Madras Presidency ; and there are in the country only three small schools for this afflicted class, one at Bombay, another in Calcutta, and the third at Palamcottah, the noble enterprise of Miss Swainson. Orthodox Hindus have strong religious prejudices against educating the deaf and dumb ; they consider these afflictions a Divine dispensation with which they have no right to interfere.

So is it with poor lepers, of whom there are another 200,000 sufferers in British India. And their religion teaches them that their sufferings are due to great sins committed in a former birth, and therefore they must perform certain ceremonies by way of atonement, and not be interfered with by Government, and put into segregation hospitals which would be gaols.

In the same way vaccination is resented. Any attempt to check the ravages of small-pox which does not take the form of an offering to the goddess Kali—the tutelary deity of the disease—is opposed to the popular religion. If Kali claims a victim, she must have that victim or remain unappeased.

Under the influence of this same fatalistic belief, a criminal has no encouragement to amend his ways ; and when sentence is passed upon his misdeeds he regards it as predestined. There is a story told of a Buddhist carter in Ceylon, who, when condemned to death for a crime, told the judge that he did not mind, as his turn would

come, since the judge himself would be reincarnated in the form of a bullock, whom he, the cattle driver, at some future time, would send over the highest precipice in Ceylon !

The world to the average Hindu is a huge lottery, in which both the prizes and the blanks have been drawn long before he was born, and he must merely be the passive recipient of whatever has been allotted him. The moral dynamic is wanting. The consciousness of independent personality does not exist ; and this is the root of the most serious defects of the Hindu character. The spring of life has disappeared.

Terrible famine and pestilence have in recent years overspread India. Why were the people so apathetic and unconcerned ? Why is it so difficult at such times to rouse them to a sense of duty, and get them to grapple manfully with the misfortune ? Because such calamity is regarded as their fate. The energy of the West and the fatalism of the East are strikingly contrasted in our Indian Empire ; and we see how a superstitious belief acts as a barrier to the alleviation of human ills, stands in the way of health and happiness, and sanitary science and national prosperity, and a right discharge of the ordinary responsibilities of life.

And what *consolation* can such a belief afford when trouble comes, and what kind of conduct does it induce towards others when overwhelmed with grief ? The Hindu heart may be tender and full of sympathy, like other hearts ; but the *belief* is that the suffering is inevitable, and cannot be averted, being the fixed result of former sin. It is common to all ; it is the working out of natural law. When sickness and bereavement come, what *hope* can be administered by a belief that drives one to despair ? Of hope, in view of death and the future life, there is absolutely none. The sight of one Hindu sitting down at such a time by the bedside of another, and trying to comfort him by some bright vision of the future, is one that is never seen ; it would be a cruel mockery. The dying man must simply proceed on his unknown journey into the dark beyond ; and what will befall him next, who can tell ?



And what of the miseries of the large number of the 25,000,000 of Indian widows, and the degrading crimes to which many of them are driven, from their being taught to regard themselves as the cause of their bereavement, through some heinous sin committed in a former life? Surely this charge alone casts a ghastly light upon the dogma.

7. How different from all this is the *doctrine of Divine Forgiveness* in the Christian Gospel, with its promise of a cancelled past, so far as the guilt is concerned, through atoning Love, by which the claims of justice and of mercy are for ever reconciled ; and which has such moral power that, whenever truly accepted, it proves a sure and complete *remedy* for sin. The Divine way of Christianity fully admits the truth of *Karma*, and respects the spiritual law that the sinful deed cannot be annulled ; but it combines with that a new element of its own, whereby the inspiration of a Father's Love produces a genuine repentance, and clothes the sinner with a moral power for good. But there is no room for forgiveness in a merciless cycle of being, where justice is so inflexible that the sinner can never hope for the slightest mitigation of the sentence on his evil deeds. There is no saving knowledge of the Divine Fatherhood ; and that is the primary difference between Hinduism and Christianity. "An impersonal God means a necessitated man," ruled by a law so inexorable that life becomes a chain of necessitated acts and results, with no power of creating new sources of good. The Hindu is "under law," and law only, and not "under grace."

And so this belief comes to be one of the greatest difficulties with which the Christian advocate has to deal ; the one that clashes most with the Gospel doctrine of free forgiveness, atonement, and salvation, through faith in Christ. Preach these to the Hindu, and you traverse at once the fundamental data of all his pantheistic thinking and acting ; from which the idea of personal identity and responsibility, and a consciousness of guilt in the Christian sense, are logically and theologically excluded.

And we can imagine how hard it must be for the average Hindu, in addition to the trammels of caste and

custom, to give up the assumptions of a lifetime, which have been inherited from centuries past. No Hindu can accept the Christian religion without first surrendering this belief which for 2,500 years has been an essential part of Hinduism ; and that means he must become another man, mentally and morally. The conviction of *Personality*, both human and Divine, is the dividing line between the Christian and the Hindu belief ; and as a *theistic* sentiment spreads in India, belief in transmigration will die out.

The dogma of *Karma* and transmigration is just such as reflective and philosophical minds, perplexed with the problems of existence, *would* reach, *apart from the* Gospel ; and so true is it that the religion of Christ, while recognising all the truth which other systems hold in common with itself—and there is important truth underlying the belief we have been studying—has *something more* to give ; something more that the Divine Father has revealed, as man has been able to receive it.

God has revealed Himself in Christ as the present Saviour from the dominion of evil ; and in Him we realise at once, with no dread of future births, free forgiveness for all the past, which transmutes the force of *Karma* from a fatal to a vital issue ; the great liberation from the bondage of corruption ; and—what goes beyond the *summum bonum* of Hindu thought and endeavour—conscious and eternal union with God Himself.

T. E. SLATER.

## EASTERN AND WESTERN EDUCATION IN CAIRO.

THERE are in Cairo at the present time two types of students who have been "educated" in very different schools: (a) the Eastern or indigenous type, the sheikhs of the Azhar; (b) the Western, or "Effendi," or government school type which corresponds to the Babus of India. On the secular side the education of these young men, from primary school up to higher college, runs parallel with the general secular system of the West. The Egyptian government, being Moslem, has seen fit to give their public schools a distinctly Moslem tone, with instruction in the Koran and Dtn for the smaller boys, and no facilities for religious instruction of any sort for Christian pupils. In spite of this, however, the teaching in the Koran and the Dtn is felt by all religious Moslems to be quite inadequate, with the result that the typical product of the government schools is turned out ignorant, compared with his turbaned brother of El Azhar, of the Koran, Tafseer, Hadeeth, and the other outworks of Islam.

For the sake of completeness we should add that a third and mixed class is gradually being created owing to the fact that the government is now taking from the Azhar sheikhs for Arabic teaching in the government schools, giving them a fairly thorough Western education to prepare them for their work.

### EFFECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

*The Government Education* turns out a much better read, more intelligent and gentlemanly man. But from a theological standpoint it does not tend to differentiate the effendi very much from the sheikh. Their ideas about

God, about corruptions of Scripture, the non-crucifixion of Jesus, the impeccability of the Prophet, the faultlessness of the Koran, are the same. Their historical sense has not been sufficiently quickened to throw doubts on these time-honoured myths. On the secular side they despise the sheikh even when possessed of full certificates, but still look to him for guidance in regard to religion.

On the other hand it is beyond question that a large number of young men of this type have become sceptical and naturalistic, followers of Spencer rather than of the Prophet of Arabia. The number of these is probably not more than two or three thousand of all nationalities, though a large number of men in Cairo, as in other large towns, are so worldly or so carnal that their irreligiousness should not be dignified by the name sceptical.

Liberalism in Islamic belief has not developed in Egypt as much as it has in India, but nevertheless there is a reform party of growing importance. It was headed by the late Grand Mufti, Mohammed Abdu, whose position was "Back to the Koran" together with the rejection of the Hadeeth as binding in matters of faith. He is said to have had much influence among the younger sheikhs and effendis but was strongly suspected by the older men. He himself feared that his work would be overturned after his death, and as far as the direction of the Azhar is concerned that belief has been fulfilled. But he has left his mark. Many young men of the western type of education are carrying on and developing his ideas. Two of them have already got out a book of first principles. It must not, however, be thought that this Liberalism goes very far in the way of concessions to the Christian position, or even of bold paradoxical interpretations of Islam like those of Ameer Ali. It is really more Puritan than Liberal. The old time-honoured Moslem positions, however unhistorical or absurd, are obstinately retained. But the ability and intellectuality of such men make one realise the need of thorough and special training coupled with sustained and persistent Christian effort to meet them.

A word must here be said as to the effect of the government system on the Copts, although the Copts may seem to be somewhat outside the scope of this article from

the fact of their being Christians. The government system is telling very badly indeed upon the Copts. Sunday is a day of full work, morning, afternoon and evening, and Christians are thus absolutely debarred from attending to their soul's needs on their Lord's day. No Bible or Christian teaching is permitted throughout the schools, but on the contrary Christian boys have often been compelled to sit and listen to the Koran and Dīn being taught to their Moslem comrades when there is no room into which they can be separated off. The disastrous effect of such a state of things upon the faith, *morale*, and religious life of the Copts must be closely observed to be adequately realised. But hitherto there has been no possible alternative, and the government higher schools have lately become practically the only doors in Egypt to the highest offices in the land.

It therefore seems to us vital to the best interests of the nation that all Christians should co-operate in some matured and sustained educational effort for the benefit of the Christian population of Egypt. There are several elements of hope. The government authorities have admitted the possibility of a grant-in-aid system being introduced in the case of all schools submitting to government inspection. The leading Coptic laity have taken alarm and have banded themselves together to try to set their own house in order. A counter policy to the government system, with compulsory religious education and Christian teaching in all their primary schools, is to be pressed forward at once. The number of other Christian primary schools in the country can now be numbered by the hundred, and many Egyptian Moslem gentry and nobility are preferring to send their sons to the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout, rather than have them instructed in government higher schools in Egypt, or sent to the secular universities of Europe.

It is clear, however, that we cannot yet look much to Coptic students in government schools—though they form more than one-third of the number in the higher schools, and even outnumber the Moslem students when the whole number of primary, secondary and higher schools are taken together—we cannot, we say, expect them at present to win their fellow students to the Christian faith. Until

a spiritual awakening begins among these students, and they show signs of real Christian life, it would seem impossible to expect them to care for the souls of their Moslem fellow students. They have, however, recently formed a Coptic society called the "Faith Association" in Cairo, with several branches elsewhere, which holds weekly meetings attended by a few students, at which evangelical addresses are sometimes given. There are other signs that the rising generation of Christians are conscious of their need of more unity among themselves, and a higher standard of morality.

The preceding remarks have dealt with some of the *national problems* that face a missionary in Cairo who works among educated Moslems. We pass on to consider the *international problem and opportunity* which is presented to the Church of Christ by the phenomenon of Al Azhar University, the largest and most international school of Moslem theology in the world.

#### THE AZHAR UNIVERSITY.

The Azhar University was founded in the same year as the city of Al Kâhira, in 969 A.D., by the Fatimite Gowhar, the vizier of Sultan Mu'izz. It was converted into a university about twenty years later, and has therefore lasted for over 900 years, being embellished and endowed by succeeding Caliphs, Sultans and Khedives, until it now contains over 10,000 students and 250 professors on its staff. During the first five-hundred years of its existence it never attracted more than 1,000 students within its walls, but in 1879 A.D., that is three years before the British occupation, it reached its maximum number of pupils (11,095) and professors (325).

Then there was a period of decline to 8,259 students in 1897, but since then the numbers have again increased, in spite of the large number of other schools which have recently been started in Egypt. The class of *Egyptian* student which now goes to Al Azhar is yearly becoming of a lower order, and as a similar institution is soon to be started, we hear, in Alexandria, it is not so much from the Egyptian point of view that we wish to call attention to the

University's importance. Its prestige as an international school of theology is still fully maintained, and makes Cairo more than a centre in which educated Moslems of one nation can be reached.

In the first place, the foreign students that come to the Azhar are generally older than their Egyptian *confrères*, so that when they return to their countries they are ready at once to take up positions of influence. Some of them are full-grown, mature men, and most of them represent a high level of intelligence. During the recent Russo-Japanese war quite a number of elderly men from a Moslem colony in Kazan, near Moscow, have been studying in Cairo. Several of them have come to our meetings and some have taken part in the debates, while a few have taken a course of regular Christian instruction. But it will give some idea of the extraordinary area from which these students are drawn, when it is stated that students have been in attendance during the past year at the Azhar from as far north as Omsk in Siberia and as far south as Zanzibar, as far east as Calcutta and as far west as Fulah Town in Sierra Leone and the oasis of Tuat. While the fact that the students of Morocco strongly objected not long ago to being placed in the same porch as those from Java and Sumatra, will show the prestige and influence from East to West that the Azhar still possesses.

*The Secret of the Azhar University's Influence.*—What is the secret of the attractive power that this university has exerted with growing influence for nearly one thousand years? If we find a complete answer to this question, we should be able to find the solution to the problem, "How to reach the educated classes of Moslems." The source of attraction is not in the beauty of the situation, the splendour of the building, or the purity of the atmosphere there, whether looked at from a physical, intellectual, moral or spiritual point of view. Nor is it due to any deference paid by the foreigner to the Egyptian Azhari student, for they generally seem to despise them for their dirtiness of habits, clothing, and manner of life generally. And the fact that the university is in a land where foreign political influence has long been paramount ought to have repelled rather than attracted all orthodox Moslems.

The only satisfactory answer to these questions seems to be as follows :

(1) It is universally believed among Sunni Moslems that *the Arabic language*—the sacred language of Islam—is better taught in the Azhar than anywhere else. Of course, with our western scientific ideas, we shall dispute the point, and rightly so, for there is no doubt that from the Beyrout College students are turned out better Arabic scholars than any Moslem sheikh educated at the Azhar. But this fact is only gradually getting known, and even then a large number of these Syrians are engaged in literary or journalistic work in Cairo. It is not then to be wondered at that Cairo is still a great centripetal force to the Moslem world.

(2) It is everywhere known in Moslem lands that Azhari students are trained in all *the Sunni theology* and traditions, the law, ritual, apologetics, exegesis, besides logic, rhetoric, history, etc., and the curriculum has long been fixed. For this reason the professors nearly all rejected the would-be reforms of Sheikh Mohammed Abdu, who tried in vain to bring the institution a little more up-to-date. We have recently seen that the Khedive shares the opinion of the majority, for he secured last summer the resignation of the late enlightened Sheikh-ul-Azhar from headship to the University, though the post is always held for life, and put in his place a man of the most conservative type, giving out publicly that he did not favour the introduction of other than religious education into the place doubtless for political reasons.

(3) It has been wisely arranged that *the professorial chairs* are open to sheikhs of many different countries, and though it is natural that Egyptians, Syrians and Arabs should monopolise most of these posts, yet theoretically I understand they are open to all. And the style of teaching given is thoroughly Oriental, either in the form of running commentary or of dialogue, the students being allowed to question their teacher in the lesson hour. It is interesting, by the way, to find that the English professors are for this reason more popular than the French in the government law school in Cairo, because they too lecture on the "Case system," and allow discussions as the subject proceeds.



(4) Owing to the wonderful endowments of the University, *education is entirely free and open to all classes*. Not only so, but doles of bread are also free to every student who has reached his second or third year (the course for Egyptians now lasts nine years). This dole increases by one loaf every year, so that older students are either able to share their loaves, or else to sell them to younger and less fortunate pupils! In consequence of this a father is able to support his son at the Azhar comfortably, in an expensive city like Cairo, on £1 10s. a month, even if he sleeps outside the premises in a lodging. But many are able to live on less than half that amount. And yet, while this is so, the funds of the Azhar treasury suffice to pay 250 professors good salaries. It is not, therefore, a thing to be despised to get on to the professional staff, either in Cairo or branch schools managed by the National Wakfs in the provinces. And an able student is certain of fair remuneration as a religious teacher. Such education is, in fact, a valuable asset.

The continued existence of this large international school of modern theology constitutes a very powerful challenge to the Church of Christ as a whole, and especially to those Christians of the West who have had laid upon them the burden of the Moslem world. In view of what has been said we should like to make the following suggestions:—

Ought not the Christian Church in East and West to be able to co-operate in the gradual formation of *an international Christian University* in Cairo, within easy access of the Azhar, where:—

(a) The *Arabic language* would be taught as well as anywhere else in Arabic-speaking lands?

(b) The *professorial chairs* would be filled by Christian Arabic scholars from different lands, who have studied the Moslem controversy and are able to meet learned Moslem sheikhs on their own ground?

(c) *The range of instruction* and hours of lectures would be such as would attract Azhari students and Moslem students, as well as Oriental Christians, to the lectures so given?

(d) *Promising converts from Islam* in different lands might be sent to be given a thorough and suitable Christian education, to fit them for being Christian evangelists, teachers and writers in days to come?

We have reason to believe that, when such a special school is started, many different missions to Moslems in Africa or Asia will take advantage of it, and give support to the scheme.

DOUGLAS THORNTON.

## MEDICAL MISSIONS IN INDIA.

ONE of the marked features in the recent history of missionary enterprise throughout the world has been the growing recognition of the importance of medical work, not merely as an auxiliary to the preaching of the Cross, but also, in the words of the biographer of Irene Petrie, "as a necessary embodiment of the spirit of that religion whose Divine Founder was, as Livingstone used to say, the first medical missionary." In a Christian country one is apt to forget how intimate the connection is between the work of healing the sick and the preaching of the Gospel, and how directly the dispensary and hospital are the creation of the Church. The Church no longer undertakes the work of organised medical relief, because under the influence of her own teaching, in obedience to the command and according to the example of Christ, the general public, either in a private capacity, or through its representative government, has taken upon itself the duty of providing the means of healing for all who need it and are too poor to pay for it. There is, and throughout the history of Christianity there has been, a parallel in this respect between education and medicine. In the early days both were recognised as the work of the Church, and if in the present age we are sometimes inclined to regret that these agencies are no longer so immediately controlled by the ministers of religion, we should bear in mind that it is the very success of Christianity, by permeating the country with the spirit of its Master, that has brought about the change.

In the mission-fields of to-day we are carried back to the early days of Christianity. We have to preach the Gospel and to heal the sick. It is true we have not, like the first apostles, miraculous gifts of healing, but that no

more absolves us from the duty of obeying our Lord's command to heal, than the lack of the gift of tongues justifies us in neglecting to preach. As servants of Christ, the question we have to consider is not whether it is necessary to do medical work in order to attract people to the preaching and so predispose them to accept the teaching, but whether there is suffering unrelieved for which we can find a remedy. Healing, in short, is a Christian duty in itself, apart from or in addition to its usefulness as an evangelistic agency. It would be better to say that the evangelism of Jesus combines the care of body and soul alike.

It may be said, however, that while this is true of places like Africa and China, where the missionary is the pioneer of civilisation as well as of Christianity, it can hardly hold good of India. That country, although still to a very large extent non-Christian, is under a Government which, although pledged to neutrality in all matters affecting the religion of the people, is animated by a Christian spirit and makes the care of the sick one of its first duties. It is true that this is undoubtedly the intention of the Indian Government, and that the efforts it has made to carry that intention into effect are worthy of all praise; but a very superficial knowledge of the conditions that prevail in India—the vastness of the population, their intense poverty, ignorance and superstition, and the limited resources of the Government—would be sufficient to convince anyone of the utter inadequacy of the existing system of medical relief to overtake the task. In his last quinquennial report, the Inspector-General of Hospitals in Bengal stated that the Government dispensaries in that province numbered 558, but that to supply every town or rural area with a population of 3,000 with a dispensary, they would require 23,000 of these institutions. In England the proportion of doctors to population is about 1 in 1,400. A few years ago, another eminent authority, Sir William Moore, M.D., wrote in the *Asiatic Quarterly* that the Government system of medical relief in India reached only about five per cent. of the people. It was practically limited to the cities and large towns, while the great proportion of the people—ninety per cent. at least—

lived in the villages. But even in the cities themselves, including the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, the medical destitution is to the Western mind something appalling. In Bombay the infantile mortality is 593 per 1,000—seven times greater than in England—and a few years ago the Health Officer of Calcutta found on careful investigation that sixty-two per cent. of the persons who died in that city received no medical attendance from any kind of practitioner, qualified or unqualified, Western or Eastern.

Apart from the humanitarian plea, which ought in itself to be sufficient, there are special reasons why medical missions are needed in India. There the ascetic idea largely prevails, and the religious force tends to spend its strength in speculation. Caste, also, by erecting barriers between man and man, stops the flow of charity and diminishes the sense of responsibility. Medical missions thus serve as a demonstration of the practical and beneficent nature of Christianity, the true religion, and help to reveal the love of God in Christ to men of every race, and class, and creed. Then the people of India are exceedingly poor—the average income being considerably less than twopence per day—and it is more true of the medical than of any other missionary agency, that through it the poor have the Gospel preached to them. These people are also very ignorant—nine-tenths of the men and more than ninety-nine hundredths of the women can neither read nor write—and by the medical mission we can preach the love of God to them in the way they understand it best. Medical missions, it has been well said, are the kindergarten system of teaching Christianity; they are like raised types to the blind, like the sign language used for the instruction of the deaf. The good which medical work does in overcoming the fears and winning the confidence of wild pagans on the one hand, and in breaking down the opposition of bigotry and prejudice on the other, has also been abundantly exemplified among the jungle tribes of India in the one case, and among the Hindus and Mohammedans in the other. Of all the races of the earth, it is often said that the Mohammedans present the most stolid front to Christian missions; yet by no people have medical mission-

aries been more heartily welcomed. It is also to be borne in mind that by means of medical missions in India, probably more than by any other agency, we are able to reach and to influence many of the inhabitants of lands still closed to the Gospel. To quote a single instance of this : Some time ago Dr. Lankester, of the C.M.S. Hospital at Peshawar, made a census of the fifty-five in-patients under treatment in his wards. He found that all save three were Mohammedans, and that forty-three came from transfrontier villages and districts where no missionary was allowed to go. Away in the wilds of Central Asia, in Afghanistan, Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet, and other strongholds of fanaticism and superstition, there must now be many thousands who have received regular Christian teaching in mission hospitals in India, and who cherish grateful memories of the kindness shown to them there. It was said of the American missionary, Dr. Parker, that he opened China to the Gospel at the point of the lancet, and to-day all along the northern frontier of India the surgeon's knife is doing more than the sword to turn our foes into friends.

A knowledge of what has already been accomplished is always an encouragement to renewed effort on a larger scale ; and the history of medical missions in India is full of interest and stimulus.

The honour of being the pioneer in this work seems to belong to Carey's eccentric colleague, John Thomas, who first went out to India as a ship's surgeon in 1783. On this, and also on a second visit, he sought an opening for mission work, and translated a part of the New Testament into Bengali. After itinerating for three years in the Malda district he returned to England, in 1792, and offered his services to the newly formed Baptist Missionary Society. He was sent out with Carey in 1793, and during the rest of his life, till his death in 1801, he was more or less closely associated with the Serampore missionaries. It is said that Krishnalal, the first convert from Hinduism in North India, was first favourably impressed with Christian truth when he was a patient under Thomas's care, and excessive joy at the time of his baptism unhinged the missionary's mind and necessitated his confinement for some time in an asylum. Half a century was allowed to

elapse before other missionary societies followed the example set by Surgeon Thomas. Then ground was broken almost simultaneously at three places in South India. In Travancore some medical work was done from 1838 to 1842 by Mr. Archibald Ramsay, but the organisation of the medical mission by the London Missionary Society may be said to date from the appointment of Dr. Leitch in 1852. Two years later he was drowned while bathing in the sea. In that short time he had so endeared himself to the people that they carted down stones to the beach, to build a temple to his honour should his body be found. It was never recovered, but a more appropriate monument exists to-day in the mission he founded. Under Drs. Thompson, Lowe, Sargood Fry, Fells, and their colleagues, it has steadily grown, until in 1904 there was a gross attendance of 135,557 patients, and 6,000 operations were performed. The missionaries in Travancore have for many years devoted much attention to the training of native Christians as medical assistants, and this has rendered possible a large extension of their work. In the year referred to there were seventeen of these assistants at work along with two Europeans, most of them being in charge of branch dispensaries, in some cases with small hospitals attached, many miles from headquarters. More recently the London Mission has extended its medical work to the district of Cuddapah, where there is a large hospital at Jammalamadugu ; to Jiaganj, in the Murshidabad district in Bengal, where the work is chiefly among women ; to Kachwa, in the Mirzapur district, not far from Benares ; and to the hill station of Almora, in the Himalayas, where it is proposed to erect a sanatorium for the open-air treatment of tuberculosis. It was about the same time that Dr. John Scudder was founding a family and a mission, both of which have become famous. He was an American Presbyterian, and laboured for some years in Ceylon before going to Madras. His seven sons all became missionaries, and one of them, the Rev. Jared W. Scudder, M.D., D.D., still survives. The family have been closely identified with the Arcot Mission, and several of the third generation are labouring there at present. One of them, Dr. Ida S. Scudder, has charge, along with

Dr. L. H. Hart, of a fine modern hospital for women at Vellore. Another American mission is now at Madura. There Dr. van Allen a few years ago built a hospital with Rs. 40,000 (about 1,666*l.* sterling), which local Hindus gave him in appreciation of the work he was doing, and the institution is now in process of being endowed by similar gifts. The Madura Mission is under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who are also represented by the Jaffna Medical Mission in Ceylon, and by the American Marathi Mission in Western India. Both in Ceylon and in Western India there are several medicals, working both among men and women. At Ahmadnagar, in the latter mission, a large hospital, under Dr. Ruth P. Hume—also a daughter and granddaughter of missionaries—was recently erected on a fine site granted free by the Government of Bombay.

In 1856 the Free Church of Scotland sent out its first medical missionary, Dr. David H. Paterson, to Madras. Later, it founded medical missions also among the Santals a large aboriginal tribe in Bengal, at Nagpur and other stations in the Central Provinces, at Jalna in the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad, at Kalna, in Lower Bengal, in the neighbourhood of Bombay, and at Conjeeveram, a famous Hindu shrine near Madras. Another medical mission was founded in connection with this Church by the late Hon. Ian Keith Falconer at Sheikh Othman, near Aden, which is politically under the Government of India. Meanwhile the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland had begun its work in Rajputana, founding medical missions with well-equipped hospitals at Ajmer, Jodhpur, Udaipur, and Nasirabad. One of the missionaries was the Rev. Dr. Colin S. Valentine, who was enabled to get a footing in the native state of Jaipur in very interesting circumstances. Passing through Jaipur city on his way to the hills, he was asked to see the Maharani in consultation. His treatment was so successful that the Maharaja made the medical missionary his private physician, giving him a free hand to do missionary work. After the death of the Maharaja, Dr. Valentine founded an institution at Agra for training native Christians as medical missionaries. It continues to do good work, in affiliation with the Government Medical



School, under Dr. Wm. Huntly, who was also formerly in Rajputana. It is now supported by the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. Udaipur and Jodhpur are also native states, and in both the mission hospitals have received princely gifts from the native rulers and their subjects. In 1900 the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church united to form the United Free Church. The troubles that ensued are now a matter of history, but fortunately the work in the mission-field has not been interfered with.

The largest medical mission in India is that of the Church Missionary Society, which had its origin in the beautiful state of Kashmir. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to begin mission work there in 1854, in 1862, and in 1864, but the opposition was so violent that the missionaries had to retreat, one of them remarking that the hearts of the people seemed to be as hard as the stones they threw. It was then resolved to try the effect of a medical mission. Dr. Elmslie, a Scottish Presbyterian, appointed in 1865, was welcomed both by the people and the officials, and treated 3,000 cases in his first six months. He was only permitted to reside in Kashmir during half the year, and died in 1872, while making the toilsome journey across one of the hill passes in delicate health. But he had opened a door which has never since been closed, and the Mission Hospital at Srinagar, under the brothers Arthur and Ernest Neve, has a reputation far and wide. For some years this Society concentrated its efforts in medical work on or near the North-West Frontier. It has erected good hospitals at Peshawar—on the road to the Kyber Pass, down which come patients from Kabul and from far beyond—Bannu, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Quetta, Amritsar, and Multan, and in recent years a doctor has also been stationed at Kotgur, beyond Simla. The mission at Amritsar, a city famous for its golden temple of the Sikhs, attained to very large dimensions under the vigorous work of Dr. Henry Martyn Clark and his fellow-labourers; and Dr. Pennell's hospital, at Bannu, is as much frequented as Dr. Lankester's at Peshawar by wild Pathans from over the border, many of whom come to be treated for the gunshot wounds received in their endless family and tribal feuds. Recently the Church Mission has

considerably extended the geographical limits of its medical work. In 1893 Mr. James Monro, C.B., who had held high office under the Bengal Government and was afterwards Commissioner of Police in London, founded a medical mission at Ranaghat, some distance north of Calcutta, among the multitudinous fever-stricken villagers of Nadia. This mission, in which several members of Mr. Monro's family and their friends co-operated, soon became the scene of an extraordinary work, which surprised even those who were most convinced that there was a great and needy sphere for medical missions in Lower Bengal. The attendances at the dispensary mounted up to 500, 600, 700, 800 a day, and even more. The mission buildings were simply besieged by patients, many of whom came the night before and encamped before the gates, in order to make sure of gaining entrance in the morning. There was no limit to the work, except in the resources and physical endurance of the missionaries. Last year Mr. Monro, retiring from India, handed over the mission to the Church Missionary Society, while several members of the family joined the Society as honorary workers. In Western India the same Society is now doing medical work among the Bhils.

Closely associated with the C.M.S., especially in the North-West, is the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. Dr. Fanny Butler, the first woman doctor sent out by the Church of England, went to Bhagalpur in 1880, and died there in 1889. The largest group of C.E.Z.M.S. hospitals is in the North-West Frontier Province and the Panjab—Peshawar, Quetta, Tarn-Taran, Amritsar, Batala, Jandiala, Ajnala, and Barhwal-Atari. There are others, however, scattered over a very wide area—one in the South, at Bangalore in Mysore—and the dispensaries are still more numerous, being found in nearly every province.

The medical work of the S.P.G. in India was begun at Nazareth in Tinnevely in 1870 by Dr. Strachan, who afterwards became the Bishop of Rangoon. There, and at various dispensaries in South India, the work is regularly carried on, mainly by medical evangelists. The medical mission at Delhi may be said to date from 1867, when a grant was first made to help work which had been begun

by Mrs. Winter. It was to her memory St. Stephen's Hospital for women and children was erected in 1884, and it was afterwards enlarged as a memorial to the Rev. P. K. Winter and the Rev. A. S. Maitland. In 1873 St. Elizabeth's Hospital was opened at Karnal; and in 1903 a dispensary was established at Rewari by Mrs. Ferguson Davie, M.D., the municipality promising to contribute to the up-keep, and a hospital is urgently needed. Drs. Muller, Scott, Hayes, and Stevenson are in charge of the hospitals at Delhi and Karnal.

Another important centre of medical work in connection with the S.P.G. is Cawnpore, where St. Catherine's Hospital was built in 1899. Dr. Wynne-Edwards is the senior doctor in charge. During a terrible epidemic of plague in 1903, her colleague Dr. Alice Marval, the senior nurse Miss Walden, and two members of the native staff, died of the disease. A chapel, isolation wards, and operating room have been built by friends in memory of these four, and Dr. Wynne-Edwards has Drs. Gibson and Dawson and two European nurses as fellow-workers. Mrs. Blair, M.B., who before her marriage was in charge of St. Catherine's, opened a dispensary at Rurki in 1905. Both at Delhi and at Cawnpore an important work is done in training native Christian women as dispensers and nurses.

The Dublin University Mission in Hazaribagh is also carried on in close association with the S.P.G. Medical work was begun at Hazaribagh in 1892, where a hospital was opened, with Drs. Kennedy and Hearn and Nurses Hassard, Richardson, and Finch-White as its staff. Dispensaries were opened among the Santals at Peturbar and at Ichak in 1896, and in 1898 the Hazaribagh Hospital was enlarged and a women's hospital added. In 1901 a new hospital was opened at Chitarpur, and in 1903 a small hospital and dispensary were started at Ranchi, with branches at Palandin and Nagri. Dr. Kennedy, retiring from the Dublin University Mission in 1904, has begun work under the S.P.G. at Murrhu in the Ranchi district, and Dr. Hearn has Dr. Wilson as his colleague. Miss Jellett, M.B., is in charge of the women's hospital at Hazaribagh. The training of dispensers and medical

assistants, for other missions as well as for the local requirements, has been regularly carried on in the Hazari-bagh Hospital. The work of the Dublin Mission is carried on in the uplands of Chhota Nagpur, among a very mixed population, many of whom are aboriginal tribes, such as Santals, Kols, &c. There is still a good deal of jungle, and the routine of hospital work is occasionally varied by cases of bites and other injuries by tigers, leopards, wolves, and bears. The S.P.G. has also done medical work in Burma, at Toungoo among the Karens, at Shwebo, and at Poozoondoung, a suburb of Rangoon. Bishop Strachan found full scope for his medical skill, especially among the Karens, and in 1889 a handbook of medicine in the language of that people was published by the missionaries.

The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission is an undenominational society, with its headquarters in London. For many years it has maintained three large hospitals in North India, with, as a rule, two doctors and a European nurse on the staff of each—the Victoria Hospital at Benares, the Duchess of Teck at Patna, and the Kinnaird Memorial at Lucknow. Recently it has extended its medical work to Nasik in Western India, where some local Brahmins have presented a hospital to the mission and where a doctor and nurse are now located.

Most of the other medical missions in India may be arranged under three groups—the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists. Of the first, the United Free Church and the Arcot Missions have already been referred to. The Church of Scotland has medical work at Kalimpong in the Eastern Himalayas, where the Charteris Hospital was built some years ago, and at two stations in the Panjab—Chamba, a native state in the hills, and Jalalpur Jattan, on the plains. The Women's Society of the same Church has hospitals at Sialkot and Gujerat in the Panjab, and at Poona, and has also a dispensary at Madras.

The American Presbyterian Medical Missions are in the Panjab, the United Provinces, and Western India. Ferozepur, Sabathu, Fatehgarh, Saharanpur, Umbala, Kasur, Lahore, Landour, Dehra Dun, Allahabad and Gwalior are the stations in the north, where medical work is at

Provinces, the United Provinces, and Bengal, most of whom have been appointed within the last ten years. The Women's Union, also American, have a large hospital at Jhansi, with a staff of two doctors and a nurse. There is an Arabian Mission, of the Reformed Church of America, with three medical missions at Bahrein, Busrah, and Muscat, on the Persian Gulf. The Salvation Army maintains the Catherine Booth Memorial Hospital at Nagercoil in Travancore, and last year opened another hospital at Anand in Gujerat. The Seventh Day Adventists have two medical missionaries and a large staff of nurses in Calcutta. There is an independent medical mission in Belgaum; the General Missionary and Tract Society (American) have a medical missionary at Bulsar in Bombay; and the Poona and Indian Village Mission last year added a doctor to their staff. The Ludhiana Zenana and Medical Mission was founded in 1867 by Miss Jerrom, in connection with the now defunct Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, and she was joined by Miss Andrews in 1869, Miss Greenfield in 1875, and Miss K. A. Greenfield in 1889. The work consisted at first entirely of Zenana teaching; but the missionaries felt compelled to undertake medical work even in the days when in Britain at least it was impossible for a woman to obtain a medical qualification. This mission has now a staff of doctors and nurses, with the Charlotte Hospital at Ludhiana, and dispensaries at Phillour and Gill as well.

Reference has already been made to the institution at Agra for training medical assistants. In 1894 the North India School of Medicine for Christian women was opened at Ludhiana, with Dr. Edith Brown as Principal. It is managed by a General Committee in India, with auxiliary committees in London, Dublin, and America. The Memorial Hospital attached to the school was opened in 1899. This institution has done good work by training native Christian girls as nurses, dispensers, and medical assistants, and steps are being taken to affiliate it to the University of Lahore.

It may be observed that the great expansion of the medical work has been of comparatively recent date. In ten years the number of medical missionaries in India was doubled—rising from 140 in 1895 to 281 in 1905. In the

same period the work has more than doubled, the number of hospitals having increased from 32 to 90. It may be noted, too, that this advance has been shared in, more or less, by nearly all the missionary organisations labouring in India, and that the medical missions are fairly well distributed over the Empire.

To the possible extension of this work there seems to be almost no limit. The people of India are just beginning to feel confidence in Western methods of healing, and the work which has been accomplished, great as it may be considered by itself, is insignificant compared with what remains to be done. Everywhere medical missionaries have the same story to tell. The demand upon their services is far in excess of their ability to supply, and fresh extensions of their work are being continually forced upon them. We prayed that doors might be opened—now the people are praying us to enter the doors that stand open to receive us, and we are held back by the want of means. Yet nowhere in the world can so much solid, philanthropic work be done, at so moderate a cost, as in a mission hospital in India. Dr. Hearn, of Hazaribagh, in a report published a few years ago, gave details of the cost of feeding the in-patients there. The food for one day for thirteen individuals cost 1s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., with 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. extra for fuel. Thus a very moderate tram or 'bus fare is sufficient to feed a patient for a day. In some places the expenditure per head is even less—not more than a penny per day. Yet the representatives of our wealthy English churches have to turn away the sick from their hospitals because they have no accommodation for them in their wards, and no funds to provide the necessary appliances for healing them. There is inspiration in the thought of all the work being done to-day in the scientific laboratories throughout the world to furnish us with surer methods of combating disease, and the Church of God will be unfaithful to her great trust and unworthy of her past history if she does not utilise all the improvements and inventions of medical science for the advancement of the kingdom. The progress in surgery made possible by the introduction of anæsthetics and antiseptics, and the more recent discoveries in bacteriology, which have thrown a flood of

light on the origin and nature of many obscure diseases—these are among the most notable and beneficent achievements of modern science. If we do not consecrate them to the service of Christ, we shall miss a great opportunity and incur a great responsibility. And in this connection it should be remembered that in the end the most efficient work is the most economical. Medical mission work done, as it has been too often done, in a half-hearted way, with inadequate means and an insufficient staff, neither inspires confidence nor evokes liberality. Money spent in this way is to a large extent wasted; but funds expended on a thoroughly equipped up-to-date hospital are well invested and will yield a rich return. The Lord's command is to heal the sick, and until we have done all that modern medicine and surgery can enable us to do in the way of relieving suffering and saving life, we are unfaithful to the Divine Lord who has taught us to see in the victims of disease the representatives of Himself.

JAMES M. MACPHAIL.

## THE THREE RELIGIONS OF CHINA AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON CHARACTER.

RELIGION is acknowledged by almost every one to be an important factor in the development of character. In the widest sense, a man's religion is his relationship to the power or powers on which he conceives his life and destiny to depend. He may conceive himself dependent on the fetish which he carries with him and which he periodically worships, or on a host of genii and deities which, he imagines, fill the world around him, or on the spirits of his ancestors, or on an Almighty and Eternal Creator—the relationship he sustains towards the one or the other of these will be his religion. Or again, he may conceive his life and future to be entirely dependent on a multiplicity of factors, almost endless in number, material, social, or personal in character, without any reference to a supernatural power. Such a person's religion will be the relationship which he sustains to the sum total of the factors on which he conceives himself to be ultimately dependent. All men, from the rudest savage in Africa to the most cultured philosopher in a civilised country, must be influenced by sentiments, beliefs, and ideas which come under what is meant by religion. For the relationship which men sustain towards the power on which they conceive themselves dependent is not merely intellectual in character. It involves amongst all races a more or less elaborate system of worship and ceremonial. As the deity adored must be imagined, consciously or unconsciously, by the worshippers to possess a moral character of some kind, the carrying out of the obligations involved in worship influence of necessity, to some degree, the character of the worshippers themselves. But what is involved in the relationship does not end in worship. All the great



religions of the world embody ethical teaching and ideals, to conform with or to attain to which is a duty that devolves upon those who profess to be the votaries of these religions. Amongst Oriental nations as well as amongst the races of Christendom a certain ethical environment is thus created by the prevailing religion or religions which affect not only the devout, but more or less every individual member of the community.

In China especially this ethical element in religion is even more prominent than it is in the West. For *Chiao*, the Chinese word for religion, signifies also *education* and *teaching*. The very word used for religion suggests, therefore, to the Chinese mind, not simply a system of devotion and ritual, but teaching and moral education. Indeed, in the Chinese word it is the latter idea that is the more prominent, as the same term is used for education in all its forms.

Three religions, *Confucianism*, *Buddhism*, and *Taoism*, have been exercising their influence on China for millenniums, one being in the ascendancy at one period and another at another, each one contributing something to the moral standards of the country, and helping to shape and mould the character of the people.

*Confucianism* embraces the ancient cult of ancestor worship. Confucius himself lived in China during the sixth century before the Christian era, but centuries before his time the people of China had an elaborate system of worship and also a high standard of morals. It has been maintained that the primitive religion of China was monotheistic. Whatever may be said in favour of this theory, it is evident that at the earliest dawn of history the Chinese worshipped the spirits of mountains, rivers, and forests, the spirits of their own ancestors, heaven and earth, Shang-Ti (Supreme Ruler),<sup>1</sup> and a host of other deities. Nearly two millenniums before Confucius there had appeared in China eminent sages who have been looked upon as perfect patterns of virtue by succeeding generations, and whose

<sup>1</sup> That is the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. It is the frequent reference to Shang-Ti in the oldest classics of China that has led some writers to believe that Monotheism was the primitive religion of the Chinese people. Shang-Ti is the term now used for God by most of the Protestant Missions in China.

precepts and exhortations are to this day the standard of moral excellence amongst the Chinese. Confucius himself did not found a religion. Nothing, indeed, was further from his intention than that the religion of China should be associated with his name. He edited the ancient classics which contained the records of former ages, and the wise sayings of the sages, and expurgated what was spurious. He himself wrote scarcely any original works. His character and his scholarship attracted to him numerous disciples who, after his death, wrote memoirs of the sayings and doings of their master. These memoirs, or *Leng Yu*, as they are called in Chinese, together with the works of Mencius, one of the disciples of Confucius, have been incorporated with the classics, and are regarded now amongst the most important portion of the sacred books of China. The teaching of Confucius was almost entirely ethical in character, that is to say it consisted of moral precepts bearing on the affairs of practical life and on the government of the State. As is well known, the Golden Rule is taught in its negative and possibly also in its positive form. "Tsze-Kung asked, 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life.' The master said, 'Is not *shu* (transposition, reciprocity, or altruism)<sup>1</sup> such a word? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others.'" The true formation of individual character, according to Confucius, is to be accomplished by the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things. Right character leads up to the right government of the State, and this results in universal peace. But true individual character must be shown, it is taught, first of all in the rulers of the nation; until it is exhibited in their lives virtue amongst the people is impossible.

There is an entire absence of philosophical and metaphysical speculations in the teaching of Confucius. His attitude towards the religious practices of his time is most significant, as it had a very important effect on the future ages of China. He conformed outwardly to the religious customs of his time, but these beliefs and practices are to a large extent ignored in his teaching. He deemed it prudent—on the ground of practical expediency, no doubt

<sup>1</sup> The same ideograph is also used for *forgiveness*.

—to conform, and conform reverently, to the beliefs and rites of his day. He advised his disciples to “reverence the gods but to keep at a distance from them.” His disciples in writing his memoirs said that “he sacrificed to the spirits *as if* the spirits were present.” This record is meant by the disciples to show the sincerity of their master in worship, and no doubt that was the impression left on the minds of his contemporaries. Yet the use of “*as if*” in the phrase is most suggestive, as indicating the attitude of the Confucian scholars towards the ancient beliefs and ceremonies of their country.

Confucius discouraged all speculations about death and the future life, wishing to confine the attention of his followers to the immediate and practical affairs of this life. When Chi-Loo asked him about death his immediate reply was, “We do not know life, how can we know death?”

The effect of all this was that Confucianism became more and more a system of practical morality. The ancient religious beliefs and practices became less observed by the followers of Confucius. The worship of Shang-Ti was delegated to the emperor. The worship of the spirits of the mountains, streams, and forests was almost entirely forgotten. Even the worship of Heaven and Earth came to occupy but a minor place in the life of the people. The worship of ancestors, however, was retained. Parents during their lifetime were real beings to their offspring, and natural human instincts precluded their being forgotten when dead. The ancient system of ancestor worship did not, therefore, suffer from the sceptical character of Confucianism as did the worship of the numerous deities which was prevalent before and during the lifetime of the sage. Indeed, this has become thoroughly incorporated into Confucianism and belongs now to its very essence. The attitude of the sage towards this cult seems to have been very different from his attitude towards the worship of the various deities believed in by the people, as may be seen from what he says of the duties of a filial son :—

“The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows :—In his general conduct towards them he manifests the utmost reverence ; in his nourishing of them his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure ; when they are ill he feels the

greatest anxiety ; in mourning for them when dead he exhibits every demonstration of grief ; in sacrificing to them he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things he may be pronounced able to serve his parents."

Thus the cult of ancestor worship has survived the changes of ages, and is to-day one of the most powerful factors in the life of the Chinese. Indeed, it is the key to the true understanding of the character of the inhabitants of the Far East, for it ramifies the entire social and political life of the Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese at the present day as it has done during the past millenniums of their history.

Confucianism is not dependent on the multiplication of temples for its propagation amongst the people, for it is taught in every home, and its principles are explained in every school. There is to be found in every city one *sheng miao*, that is "holy temple," as a Confucian temple is called. Such temples are without images and without priests. The leading gentry and literati are the priests of Confucianism, and the head of every family is the priest in ancestor worship.

Here in the West there is present more or less distinctly in the human mind what is called the God-consciousness, and it is open to question whether even the professed atheist has been able to rid himself altogether of it. It is this God-consciousness that forms the basis of our moral sanctions, and apart from it we feel that our whole moral system would be in danger of a complete collapse. The Christian missionary when he has learnt the Chinese language and is able to come into contact with the Chinese mind is amazed to find a total absence of this God-consciousness, which, from his Western experience, he expects to meet with. He can point to the beauty and order of nature, and argue from this the existence of God. He will obtain very frequently an intellectual assent. But the God-consciousness in no way forms a part of the mental equipment of the ordinary Chinaman, neither are his moral sanctions based upon it. What seems to take the place of this in the Chinese mind is the Ancestor-consciousness, if such a term could be used. His ancestors form a great factor in his life. He is surrounded by a "great cloud of witnesses," moreover they are his protectors

and he is dependent on them. It is upon this that his system of morality is based. He has to be loyal to his ancestors. He has to lead such a life as will be pleasing to them, or he will forfeit his right to their protection. He is not philosophical enough to feel the need of a deeper basis for his ethics. Thus it is that the Ancestor-consciousness amongst the Chinese takes the place of the God-consciousness in the Western mind.

Some of the finest traits in the national and individual character of Oriental races have been produced through the influence which ancestor worship has exercised amongst them. The heroism and the loyalty which have been so much admired of late in the Japanese character are in no small measure due to the influence which this cult, in its wider range, has had upon the nation.

No one who has studied the manners and customs of the Chinese can fail to have been struck by the way in which so many of the details of their daily life are affected by this system. Early betrothals, marriage ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, choice of location for graves, even choice of place of residence for the living and choice of occupation for sons, are all influenced by the cult of the worship of ancestors.

But it is in the peculiar complexion or idiosyncrasy it has imparted to the character of the people that its most remarkable effect is seen. Their highest moral ideals have been, through successive ages, the sages who lived millenniums ago. The most perfect social conditions which they could imagine were the conditions existing under the ancient sage-emperors. The highest objects of their adoration were their own ancestors. These habits of thought forced the imagination continually back to the past. The Chinese mind has thus been made retrospective in its character and contemptuous towards enterprise and progress. A state of national torpor has thus been induced. Contact with the West, and a vision of new ideals are only just beginning to make the nation realise its own future possibilities.

The system has also acted in other ways in a harmful manner. It is, in part, responsible for the polygamy of China. A son is not filial unless he has himself a son to whom he hands on the duty of continuing the worship of

the ancestors of the family. If a husband has not a son it is his duty, according to Chinese ideals, to take to himself a second wife, and afterwards, if necessary, a third or a fourth wife, in order that the family line may be continued. The home in China is therefore very different in character from the home in the West. The unit of society and the basis of civilisation, after all, is the home. The two types of civilisation, the Eastern and the Western, will never harmonise as long as there is preserved in China this type of family life. Foreigners, merchants, and others have resided in China with their families for decades, but they have never been able to come into real social intercourse and fellowship with the Chinese. The two civilisations have remained strictly apart, the reason for this being the totally different type of family life.

As the sceptical attitude of Confucius towards the popular deities of China was also characteristic of his followers, Confucianism, although embracing the worship of ancestors, tended to become more and more a system of cold intellectual morality. After the time of Confucius, materialistic commentators gave the system a still further agnostic character. "Heaven" and "Shang-Ti," terms frequently occurring in the older classics, were explained as meaning "principles" only, and this is one of the explanations given in the standard commentary on the classics which is still taught in all the schools of China. The result of all this was that the literati of China came to assume an attitude of proud scepticism towards the supernatural. Probably, at the present day, there is to be found in no other country a body of educated men so materialistic, at any rate so agnostic, in their mental characteristics as the literary men of China.

A religion with such a tendency manifestly could not satisfy some of the deepest longings of the soul, and thus left the way open for a religion of a more spiritual character to come upon the scene. It was not long before such a system was introduced from India, the foundations of which were being laid in that country when Confucius was editing the ancient books of China.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Birth of Confucius about 551 B.C. Death of Shakyamuni Gautama Buddha, 543 (?) B.C.

*Buddhism* was introduced into China about the year 250 B.C., but it did not obtain official recognition until the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. Buddha, who lived, it is supposed, during the sixth century before Christ, though the founder of the religion which bears his name, incorporated into his system many of the theories and beliefs which had been in vogue in India for centuries before his time. He proclaimed the transitoriness and unreality of all phenomena. But behind the ever changing scenes and experiences of life there is, he taught, an eternal spiritual reality. He was moved by the sight of misery and suffering around him, and gave to the world the four fundamental truths of his system. 1. Misery is a necessary attribute of sentient existence. 2. The accumulation of misery is caused by desire. 3. To be rid of misery man must be rid of desire. 4. The only way to be rid of desire is to be rid of conscious personal existence.

Death, however, did not mean the extinction of sentient existence. Buddha accepted the doctrine of transmigration which had already been current in India for ages before his time. Those who lived selfish lives, indulging in lust and passion, would be reborn into the world again into a state high or low in organic life according to their moral condition. The soul might pass through an endless cycle of existence. It would not be conscious of its former life, but the identity of moral character would be preserved from stage to stage. The wheel, indicating the cycle through which the soul passes, has thus become the symbol of Buddhism. Buddha taught the way of deliverance from this cycle of endless transmigration and thus from the miseries of life. The final aim of all should be, he taught, to lose all personal identity and to be absorbed into Nirvana, the eternal spiritual reality. Deliverance could be obtained by doing good works and by contemplation. This was the good news he proclaimed to his age.

This system, after spreading over India, reached China. It contrasted strangely with Confucianism and seemed, in some respects, to satisfy the spiritual aspirations of the Chinese. It proclaimed an eternal spiritual reality behind all the transitoriness of life, and it showed the way of

deliverance from misery. The Chinese, however, were too practical in their nature to be satisfied with the prospect of total extinction in Nirvana as the goal of existence. Thus it was that Buddhism as it spread northward and eastward from India, underwent a modification in one of its fundamental tenets. Instead of proclaiming Nirvana as a place where personality becomes extinct, it proclaimed the doctrine of the *Si-tien*, i.e. Western Paradise, where the souls of the faithful could be in conscious eternal bliss.<sup>1</sup> In this form, called the Mahayana school of Buddhism (also called Northern Buddhism), it spread rapidly over the whole of China and thence to Corea and afterwards to Japan.

The religion of Buddha as it spread to different countries incorporated gradually within itself many of the religious beliefs of the people it converted. So modern Buddhism as it is found in China embraces a strange heterogeneous mixture of Indian mythological deities along with the heroes and divinities of the Chinese people. The foreigner as he visits the shrines and temples of China can still easily recognise in the huge idols the characteristic Indian personification of Buddhist ideals—now, however, regarded as deities by the Chinese people, but the maze of the lesser deities will be more perplexing to him. Thus it is that philosophic Buddhism has come to be a polytheistic religion, encumbered with a mass of popular superstitions.

The Buddhist priests of China are generally ignorant, often in their private lives immoral, and as a class are held in contempt by the people. The temples are unfortunately always dirty, and some of them sadly out of repair. In the larger monasteries the priests chant their litanies together in the main hall of the temple. This is the only form of congregational worship in China. The laity come to the shrine whenever they wish, and each one does his obeisance to the idol when convenient to him. A feast day is the time generally chosen, but the whole aspect of the temple and its courtyard on this occasion is more suggestive of a fair day than of a day of worship. Vendors of all kinds of

<sup>1</sup> This change in the fundamental teaching of Buddhism did not take place as it spread towards the south. Hence it is that Southern Buddhism, that is, the prevailing religion of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, still teaches the doctrine of the total extinction of consciousness in Nirvana. This is called the Hinayana school.



wares will be hawking their goods, jugglers will be performing their tricks, gamblers' tables will be much in evidence, and amidst the medley a few individuals, women mostly, will elbow their way, now one and now another, to the shrine. Buddhism is indeed in a decadent condition in China and can in no way be regarded as a power making for the uplifting of the nation.

Instead of contemplation the frequent repetition of "Amitabha"<sup>1</sup> (in Chinese *O-mi-tu-fu*) is considered efficacious to purify character and thus deliver the soul from the endless cycle of transmigration. Rosaries are therefore used by bonzes and the devotees of Buddhism, a bead being told off each time the name Amitabha is uttered. A woman once gave the writer after her baptism a Buddhist rosary she had used for thirty years. As she had used it on an average for about four hours each day, it was calculated that the name Amitabha had been told off on the rosary at least 200 million times!

Buddhism has not been without its effect on the Chinese character. It has impressed upon the Chinese the reality of spirit and thus has had an important share in saving the nation from becoming purely materialistic. It has produced a regard for animal life, and may account for the fact that the Chinese are largely, though not exclusively, vegetarian in their diet. Asylums for dogs and for horses incapacitated by age are to be found in many parts of China.

Buddhism was the means of stimulating in a remarkable way the Chinese imagination, and thus had an important influence on art. Some of the monasteries were at one time centres of learning, and gave a great impetus to painting and poetry. It has also taught the Chinese the evil of selfishness, indeed the devotees of the religion look upon selfishness as the root of all misery and suffering, but, associating misery with selfishness and not regarding selfishness as a state of alienation from the one Holy God, it has failed to generate in the Chinese heart any adequate conception of sin and guilt. It is the experience of nearly all missionaries in China that the absence of a sense of

<sup>1</sup> Amitabha is the enlightened Buddha. In northern Buddhism (Mahayana school) he is a deity with conscious personality, in fact the head of the Buddhist pantheon.

moral guilt or sin is a characteristic of the Chinese people. The development of this is looked for anxiously in those who are being prepared for the catechumenate and baptism; as a rule it is only after being associated with Christians for a considerable time that they develop the consciousness of the moral condition of the soul before the Holy and Eternal God.

*Taoism*, like Confucianism, is a religion indigenous to China. The word *Tao* means Way or Reason, and the religion takes its name from a short treatise of five thousand words on the *Tao*, written by the philosopher Lao-tsze, who was a contemporary of Confucius. This treatise, called the *Tao Teh King*, the Classic of Reason and Virtue, is regarded by the Taoists as embodying their philosophy and as forming the basis of their religion. Its style is obscure and vague, and as there is amongst the Chinese themselves an endless number of interpretations of its terse passages, it can well be imagined that to render it into English or any European language is a very difficult matter. Lao-tsze, however, like Confucius, had no idea of founding a religion. It was only in after ages, when those who still adhered to the beliefs and the deities discarded by the followers of Confucius were at a loss for some leading personality whom they could look back upon as the founder of their religion, that Lao-tsze was selected. The philosophy of the *Tao Teh King* was vague and mystical enough to be a suitable basis for their religion.

It was during the third century before the Christian era that the Taoists received their first imperial support. The Emperor Shih (221-209 B.C.), the builder of the Great Wall of China, the subjugator of the Feudal States, and the consolidator of the empire, waged a fierce war against the Confucianists and burnt their books. He encouraged the Taoists in their beliefs and sent out an embassy in quest of Fang Lai, the isle of the immortals, with instructions to bring back to him the herb of immortality.

Since the beginning of the Christian era Taoism has been an organised religion with an hereditary chief or pope of the surname of Chang, whose seat is in the Lung-hu mountain in the province of Kiang-si. Taoism in its adjuncts of worship and its ceremonial has copied freely

from Buddhism. Its temples are to be found in abundance in every city and town in the empire, and the foreign visitor would not at first be able to tell the difference between these and the Buddhist temples, so similar are they both in their outward style of architecture and in the type of idols and figures to be found within.

In spite of the outward similarity between the temples of Buddhism and Taoism, the two religions differ in their teaching as well as in many of their practices and discipline. The casual observer would soon discover that the Taoist priests wear a black habit instead of a yellow one, that they wear their hair long instead of having their heads shaven, and that they discard the Buddhist rule of celibacy for priests. The Taoists teach that souls are refined substances, but still material in character and liable to dissolution with the body. The soul and even the body can be rendered immortal by correct religious practices and by leading a good life.

The ethical teaching of Taoism in the main is that of the Confucian classics, but great stress is laid upon future rewards and punishments in the world to come, whereas in Confucianism retribution is supposed to overtake the individual in the present life. Tracts and pamphlets are issued from the Taoist temples exhorting people to be good and describing the bliss or the agony of those who have left the world. In every leading temple there is a chamber of horrors, where the punishment meted out to evil-doers is depicted with graphic details.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the extent to which the possibility of attaining immortality fired the imagination of Taoists in past ages. Emperors sent out embassies in search of the elixir which would confer upon them this priceless boon. Philosophers and alchemists spent their life in trying to discover the *tan-ching*, the pill which could be made, they thought, by refining lead and mercury, and which could etherealise the body and make it immortal. Legends were current, and are current to the present day, of myriads of men and women who had become etherealised and who had been wafted away to the land of the immortals. A strange example of this Taoist belief was given at the time of the Boxer riot in China. Those

deluded people believed that their bodies had become impervious to foreign bullets. They were only called back to a sense of the reality of their corporeal existence when they saw their compeers being shot down in succession, as they stood up on the walls of Peking in front of foreign muskets.

The Taoists also believe that every species of matter possesses a conscious subliminal existence. Mountains, groves, streams, forests, are thus endowed with individual conscious life, which assumes the nature of a presiding and protecting spirit or genius. Some of these genii free themselves from their material concomitant and wander about the surrounding space. Some even ascend to the heavens and associate themselves with the stars. So we have the five principal planets corresponding to the so-called five elements, also stars influencing the life of human beings.

The Taoists have thus the monopoly of geomancy, or, as it is called in Chinese, the "Science of Wind and Water." The object of this cult is to select suitable spots for the repose of the dead and also suitable sites for the abode of the living. When a relative dies, or when a house is to be built, the aid of a Taoist who is a scholar conversant with the Science of Wind and Water has to be called in so that he may select a spot in harmony with geomantic principles.

Taoism also teaches that every man is endowed with three souls; after death, one of these remains near the corpse, one is associated with the spirit tablet which is placed in a sacred niche in the house, or in the case of wealthier families is placed in a special building, the ancestral chamber, and the third soul is carried off to purgatory. When the corpse is buried offerings of meats, vegetables, and wine are periodically made at the graveside to the spirit which hovers around, and after it has participated of the ethereal essence of these viands friends and relatives consume the material part which remains. Offerings to the spirit residing in the tablet placed in the sacred niche in the house will be similarly made at stated times. Taoist priests, and Buddhist priests too, are called in to pray for the soul in purgatory. An elaborate bridge is erected in the house and the priests will chant their litanies and hum their incantations around it to enable the

soul to pass safely over the dangerous Styx. Paper clothes, paper houses, paper sedan chairs, and paper money are burnt and, accompanied by the sound of indescribable music, sent off, as it is supposed, to Hades, where they become the actual articles required by the soul in the spirit world. "It has been computed that the public worship of departed souls costs the empire 6,000,000*l.* annually and the private worship 24,000,000*l.*"

It must not be supposed that the population of China is divided into three parts, each religion claiming a portion as its adherents. On the contrary, a Chinaman is a Confucianist, a Buddhist, and a Taoist at the same time. The Confucian scholar, it is true, may affect supreme contempt for the spiritism of Buddhism or for the vagaries of Taoism ; but the same person will be found consulting the geomancer, employing Taoist and Buddhist priests to perform the obsequies for his dead relatives, or possibly going to the temples himself to invoke the aid of the gods. If he is an official he will have to do the latter in his official capacity.

The fact is the religion of the Chinaman is a composite faith embracing the three prevailing religions of his country. It never occurs to him to consider the need of bringing these faiths into logical harmony in his own mind. They are allowed to remain there in juxtaposition without any attempt on his part at bringing them into a coherent system. Religious tolerance is therefore a striking characteristic of the Chinese mind. Indeed, Chinese scholars are frequently to be met with who have learnt a smattering of Christian truths from some books they have read and claim on that account to be Christians. They express their surprise when they are told that to be Christians it is necessary not only to know a little about Christian truths, but also to be baptized, to abandon the idolatrous practices of other religions, and to live according to the law of Christ.

It is this composite faith, this amalgam of heterogeneous beliefs, that really forms the religion of China. It is not to be wondered at therefore that the character of the Chinese people should be of a very complex nature. Characteristics which seem strangely at variance with each other can be found in the same individual, and oftentimes

qualities never suspected to be present make themselves manifest.

Amongst this complexity the following leading features seem however to stand out in the Chinese character.

*Respect for ancestors, parents, and seniors.*—The continuous existence for millenniums of the Chinese as a nation in Eastern Asia seems a remarkable fulfilment of the promise implied in the fifth commandment: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." If there is any one virtue more prominent than others in the Chinese character it is the honour paid to parents. This virtue is inculcated in all schools and in all homes. It is made in the classics the fundamental virtue upon which the individual character is to be built. It is drilled into the children whilst they are still young, as they see their parents kowtowing reverently from time to time before the tablets of their ancestors in the home or in the ancestral chambers.

The Chinese certainly believe, not only in the need of commemorating the dead, but in a very close relationship existing between the dead and the living. A clearer realisation of the "Communion of Saints" in which we constantly declare our belief may be a contribution which the future Church of China will make to the religious consciousness of Christendom. In some of the Christian cemeteries of China a service is held on All Saints' and Easter days. Any foreigner who has attended such services can never forget their impressiveness.

Respect towards seniors and teachers is closely associated with respect to parents in the Chinese mind. However high the official position to which a scholar may attain, he will always pay the highest respect to the village teacher from whom he received his elementary education. An old man is an object of respect wherever he is seen. Coolies with their heavy loads, as well as the proud literati, will make room for him as he walks along the country lanes. Indeed, an insult by a youth to an old man would be so repugnant to the Chinese nature that the culprit would be regarded as a criminal of the most degraded type.

*Superstition.*—After what has been said about the principles of Taoism it is not to be wondered at that the

Chinese are the most superstitious people on the face of the earth. The mystic principles of *Feng-shui*, the *Wind and Water* science, determine the sites of graves and regulate the building of houses, temples, pagodas, and every other edifice in the empire. Time also has its spiritual counterpart, so there are lucky days into which events are crowded and unlucky ones when no new work can be begun. The air is filled with genii and spirits of every description. The surgeon is frequently called in to a patient, not to excise a tumour but to exorcise a malignant spirit. A foreigner as he takes his walks is followed and watched, as it is thought that his eyes can see into the depth of the ground and discover where gold and other metals lie. If he sits on a crag or a stone to rest awhile a crowd may collect the following day to examine carefully every inch of the spot in search of gold or quicksilver. Superstition is characteristic of scholars as well as the masses, and along with this there is professed agnosticism derived from Confucian teaching.

*Politeness.*—There are five cardinal virtues in the Chinese estimation—viz. Benevolence, Justice, Politeness, Wisdom, and Sincerity. A man who is not polite would be regarded as a person defective in one of the fundamental principles of morality. *Suaviter in modo* is certainly a striking feature in the social life of the Chinese. Their language abounds in honorific terms and titles which educated men delight in using when addressing others, whilst using the opposite depreciatory terms in speaking of themselves or things belonging to themselves. Neither is politeness confined to the educated and literary classes. Tradesmen, mechanics, coolies, are likewise most polite in their intercourse with each other, though of course they would not be able to use the classical expressions with which the speech of literary men is adorned. Politeness as a moral virtue embraces the source from which it arises in the heart as well as the outward expression of it in good manners—the sentiment and the ceremony are necessary to make the idea of *li*, politeness, complete.

*Disrespect for woman.*—In nothing is Chinese morality so defective as in the inferior position which woman is made to occupy in the social life of the country.

Neither is the disrespect shown towards woman a failure to come up to the theoretical standards of the teaching of their religions, as the lack of honesty or the lack of truthfulness in China—or in any other country—might be argued to be. It is a deliberate carrying out of the ethical teaching of their religions. A large number of the ideographs signifying an abstract quality with a bad meaning, such as flattery, jealousy, hypocrisy, &c., have the ideograph for “woman” in them as a radical or the basis on which the more complex ideograph is built. The teaching of the classics is often most derogatory to woman. “Of all people,” says Confucius, “women and mean men (or servants) are the most difficult to behave to; if you are familiar with them they lose their humility; if you maintain a reserve towards them they are discontented.” The teaching of Buddhism is no better. Woman as such cannot enter Nirvana or the Western Paradise. Her hope is to be reborn as man and then qualify herself for final bliss. Footbinding seems to be the attempt of the Chinese to realise the ideal they have for woman—that she should be subdued, inactive, and servile.

*Fidelity.*—There is a common Chinese proverb which says, “You must side with the man whose rice you eat.” It is a rare thing in China to hear of a servant betraying his employer to his enemies. In the time of riots heathen servants have been known again and again to risk their lives for their master or his family. The servant may pilfer a little from his master's goods, and do so systematically, but he will not allow anyone else to do this, and when the crisis comes he may risk not only his property but his life for his employer—a strange incongruity, but an incongruity which hundreds of Europeans have, from experience, cause to be thankful for. Sincerity is another of the five cardinal virtues, and in the main it can be safely said that it is not wanting in the Chinese character. The roll of Christian martyrs in China illustrates also the existence of the same virtue.

*Peaceableness.*—The goal of all the ethical teaching of the religions of China is peace—universal peace. There are sometimes feuds, “social typhoons,” which disturb families and neighbourhoods, but they are distasteful to a



people whose nature is tranquillity. Wherever the Chinaman is to be seen, in the gardens of Australia, in the laundries of America, or in the ports of Europe, he is the same easy-going, law-abiding, peaceable person that he is on his own congenial native soil. Possibly when China, with her four hundred million people, adopts Western civilisation and has a representative army and navy drilled and armed according to European methods, she will be the greatest power for the maintenance of peace that the world has yet seen.

*Fatalism.*—Nearly all writers on China have remarked on the callousness of the people, their disregard of human life, their lack of ambition and enterprise, and similar characteristics. These qualities, which are aspects of the fatalism in their character, are the natural product of various factors in their religion, in their social condition, and in their history. Their religion is fatalistic. The older portions of the classics refer frequently to *tien ming*—"the will of Heaven." By such an expression the ancient Chinese probably meant "the decrees of God," whereby they showed their belief that the course of this world is ordered by an all wise Providence. But the expression is unfortunately now used in the sense of inexorable destiny—*fate*, from which it is useless to try to escape. Buddhism teaches that men are what they are in this life owing to their condition in a previous state of existence—a condition for which, as far as they feel, they have no responsibility. The possibility of entering the Western Paradise held out to them is too vague to inspire them now with hope. The superabundance of population tends to make them hold human life as of little value ; whilst the prevalence of sickness, epidemics, and disasters caused by insanitation, floods, and famine accustom them to the sight of suffering and death, and thus blunt their finer sensibilities. Their history, instead of being a record of progress, has been, at any rate for the last thousand years, a record of rebellions, revolutions, and dynastic changes without any apparent advance being made. The soul of the nation has been turning in a cycle as the soul of the individual is represented to be turning in the almost hopeless wheel of metempsychosis. Under such conditions and with such a history

fatalism has inevitably come to be a feature in the character of the Chinese people.

The writer remembers asking a well known Chinese gentleman some years ago, in the course of a conversation about religion, how, according to Chinese ideas, could man be made good. His immediate reply was, "*Tu shu*," i.e. by study, and he went on to explain how, by reading the classics of China, the student could know what right conduct is and that he ought therefore to lead a good life. He then asked how, according to the religion of the West, was a man to be made good. He was told that according to Christianity a man can receive divine power into the soul, and that it is in virtue of this divine power that we hope to be made good. After a second or two of reflection he said, That is what China needs at the present time.

The feeling of the inadequacy of their own systems is unquestionably felt by the Chinese, and there is at the same time a consciousness not only of the need but also of the incoming of new forces, spiritual, intellectual, and social, the full meaning of which they do not as yet grasp. China is the land of secret societies, some of which are religious, some political, some both. A curious secret society has lately been discovered, the true character of which is not as yet fully understood. The members of this society believe that the three religions of China are human, whereas theirs is divine. They aim at being restored to man's original state of purity. This is to be reached, they claim, by means of two sacraments. There is first of all the sacrament of water, followed by the descent of fire. Secondly, there is the sacrament of wine, by receiving which they claim to be able to partake of the divine nature and to have fellowship with God. All this manifestly is a copy of the Church's teaching about sacraments and the descent of the Holy Ghost. They teach that it is through much suffering that their members can attain to immortality, which is the consummation to which they look forward. It is said that the society has already several million adherents. This movement is probably mixed up with a great deal of superstition and may be political in its final aim. It bears witness, however, to the widespread belief that it is a new life which can give

inspiration and moral vigour that China needs at the present time.

The history of China is, as indeed is the history of every great country, bound up with the history of her religion. The three religions have been shaping the course of the events of history as well as moulding the character of the people. That they have imparted some fine features to the Chinese character is undeniable—features which we trust will survive the transition which confronts the nation and outlast the changes of coming ages. To say that they are defective and must give way before the one religion which can bring in new power and inspiration is only another way of saying that the Christian religion must embrace humanity even as its Founder meant it to do.

J. LAMBERT REES.

## SOME CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS.

WHEN the philosopher Hobbes asserted that, in the pre-human stage of the development of society fraud and force were cardinal virtues, he laboured under the disadvantage of not being able to study at close quarters the inhabitants of non-Christian communities. The more a Christian missionary sees of the practical life of non-Christian peoples the more apparent it becomes to him that in pagan society the strong and the cunning habitually prey upon the weak.

In Christian communities, whilst the majority may do even as the heathen, there are always some who are actuated by sympathy or love, and who do exhibit self-sacrifice for the good of others. Moreover, in each Christian community there is an outspoken public opinion in favour of the altruist and against the egoist. But before a non-Christian community could be characterised by an outspoken public opinion in favour of self-sacrifice a complete reversal must take place in the very roots of thought and feeling. Its heart must be depolarised, and then repolarised by the divine magnet—the Cross of Christ. This is the stupendous task which has been committed to the Christian Church by its founder.

“No one is afraid to find fault with that fellow,” was the significant remark overheard a few days ago in regard to a “poor stick of a fellow” who had neither force nor resource to retaliate. The speaker meant that even the most insignificant could say what they liked about the man without fear of consequences.

An illustration of this glorifying of force in the absence of any deterrent motive came to my notice a month or two since in a letter from an out-station Chinese preacher. One Sunday evening an elder of the township came to hear him preach, and at the close of the service caused

some disturbance by making hostile remarks before the congregation. The preacher was willing to discuss the doctrine with him, but soon found that disturbance and not discussion was intended. He first remonstrated, and when that was ineffectual threatened that he would accuse the disturber to the official at the county town. He was met with the rejoinder, "What can you do? The official won't listen to such as you. Why, your own missionary was stoned out of this place six years ago, and evidently he could not get the official to take up his grievance, for we never heard any more of the affair." I took an early opportunity to visit the place and to say in public, as well as to the district elders whom I invited to an interview, that I was the missionary whom they stoned, and that their interpretation of the sequel was wrong. By using Treaty rights we could call down vengeance any day for such outrages, and if we did not do so it was not from lack of power but because our mission was one of peace and friendship, and because we found that such outrages were not repeated when once the people of any place understood our aims. Our Christians in that locality, being more or less familiar with the New Testament, understand that we forgive such personal injuries for Christ's sake; but the thousands of non-Christians had come to a different conclusion.

Another marked difference between the Chinese and the Christian point of view in morals is shown by the prevalence of the custom of taking irregular toll, or "squeeze." This might be illustrated from every grade of the Chinese social scale, from the Viceroy on his provincial throne to the poorest workman. Wages and salaries are nominal, from the top of the social ladder to the bottom rung. Your cook accepts service for half or even less than half what it costs him for his living. But then he is the buyer of your eatables and other household necessities! He makes his own arrangements with the vendors, and he charges you what he and his peers agree upon as a fair price for the articles. You would prefer either to pay him a living wage or to do your own shopping, but both are out of the question. From time immemorial the custom has been as described, and you

may waste much time and strength in a futile effort to have it your own way. No wonder a Chinese servant likes to take service with a master or a mistress who is "above" the petty detail of market prices, and who does not stoop to the meanness of wanting all odds and ends accounted for! He will lay on the flattery to any extent rather than let such a golden goose slip through his hands.

A clerk or salesman in a shop falsifies his accounts, or utters counterfeit coin, to make up his income, not as an exceptional thing to be punished severely when found out because it is wrong, but as a matter of course and common practice.

Weights and measures have varying standards, not only in different towns but in different streets of the same town, and even in neighbouring shops on the same street. A mandarin hesitates whether to take his absurdly inadequate official salary—barely enough to pay for tea and tobacco—or to let it lie untouched and get the credit of being a voluntary servant of the State. But on the other hand no one finds fault with his irregular levies so long as he does not lay them too heavily on those who have force or resource enough to retaliate. It is this custom, of legitimising "squeeze," that accounts for the control of the maritime customs being placed in the hands of Europeans.

This prevailing practice of making light of fixed salaries and condoning squeeze until there is no public opinion against it makes many difficulties for the management of religious institutions in China. The self-reliant stage in the development of the native Christian church in China will have to be postponed owing to the lack both of trustworthy treasurers and the paucity of trained pastors. I had the painful duty not long ago of suspending a church treasurer after a lengthy investigation for falsifying accounts. It would be interesting to collect the experiences of medical missionaries with their Chinese hospital assistants, through whose hands a considerable amount of money must be received and expended.

Another remarkable divergence of view is that in regard to rates of interest. It is well known that the rate of interest in China on loans is looked upon as quite

respectable if it does not exceed 36 per cent. But it will be news to many that interest as low as 72 per cent. is hailed with relief and delight, while 96 per cent. for short periods is quite common, and is not regarded as a grievance. Three Christians living at a distance of 150 miles from Chungking thought they would like to do some Christian service. They could not preach ; but being business men they came to the decision to open a pawn-shop in a certain town, to run it on straightforward lines, and to devote some of the profits to the payment of rent for a place of worship and the wages of a native preacher. After doing business for a fortnight they came into collision with the Yamen. Having arranged to pay Yamen demands in return for Yamen protection (what at home we should call a licence, but of a much more arbitrary nature than would obtain in a Western nation), when the day for paying came round they refused because more was demanded than had been arranged. The original fee was fixed at fifty taels per annum. The additional demand was for another hundred taels as gratuity to the chief magistrate. Fearing continuous blackmail, instead of paying they represented that they were Christians and so connected with foreigners. The official scented intimidation, and did not believe that we had anything to do with this pawn-shop. To make sure he petitioned the Chungking Taotai, who at once brought the matter to my notice. I paid a visit to the place as soon as possible, found plenty of evidence that the business was quite above board and straightforward, reprimanded the three Christians severely for wrongfully using the name of the Church, and remonstrated with them on the rate of interest, 6 per cent. per month.

Now comes the strange part of the story. A numerous deputation of townspeople waited on me to express their satisfaction at the prospect of such a well-conducted pawn-shop with such a "reasonable rate of interest," and to implore me to give what countenance I could to the undertaking ; I was much surprised, for they were evidently in earnest. On thinking it over the next day I came to the conclusion that this deputation had been collected by interested parties and prompted in what they did and said. Later on I came to doubt this conclusion, for, to my still

greater surprise, having mentioned the circumstances to a number of Chinese, widely separated, and far distant from the town in question, one and all confirmed the view that the rate of interest was quite reasonable, and assured me that the convenience of such a well-conducted and reasonable pawn-shop to multitudes of poor people would lead to the prevention of much distress and prevent the starvation of many in the interval between the crops.

It must be very difficult for those who have never lived outside the boundaries of the United Kingdom to conceive what it means to live in a land where infanticide is not a crime, and where it is possible for a father to bury alive a married daughter, an act which the authorities refuse to punish on the ground that the father has acted quite within his rights. How strange it would seem to them to have daily intercourse with pleasant-mannered, cultivated neighbours to whom polygamy is no sin, the number of a man's wives being determined by his worldly prosperity. A Westerner coming to China with Western ideas will feel a difference of view in the matter of gratitude for benefits received. The Chinese idea is that those who have received benefits from you may be allowed to attribute your good offices to a desire for accumulating merit, and are at liberty to assure themselves that there is no need to be grateful, for you will have your sufficient reward quite apart from their gratitude. They are quite right of course on that side, but on the other side they fail to see that the omission of gratitude from their imperative duties hardens and stunts the soul.

Of all the differences of view from a moral standpoint none is more striking than that relating to falsehood. In their classics is found no "categorical imperative" forbidding it. No wonder that so ingenious and practical a people should have taken advantage of this absence, and should have become so accustomed to disregard truth that they almost fail to make a distinction between it and falsehood. The wonder is that so patient, astute and persevering a race should not have perceived that falsehood must end in rottenness. "The God of this world hath blinded the minds of them."

It is no uncommon experience to find a church member



confess circumstantially some sin for which he is disciplined, and to find afterwards that he never committed that particular fault but some other. One came to me pleading that his suspension was unjust since he had not sinned the sin which he had specified in his written confession. When it was pointed out to him that his so-called confession was manifestly a falsehood, and that his suspension was deserved on account of the lie, he seemed to be quite unable to follow the argument to that conclusion. His mind had been blinded to any sense of sin in falsehood.

The struggle of new converts to adjust their conduct to Christian standards, especially in the matter of truth-speaking, is a most exhausting one. My meaning will be clear to any who have read Dr. Arthur Smith's *Chinese Characteristics*, especially the chapters on "The talent for indirection," "The absence of sincerity," and "The disregard of accuracy."

He shows that "in China, quantities which are equal to the same quantity are not equal to each other"; that "the whole is not equal to the sum of its parts"; and that "the whole Chinese system of thinking is based on a line of assumptions different from that to which we are accustomed, and they (the Chinese) can ill comprehend the mania which seems to possess the Occidental to ascertain everything with unerring exactness." Chinese who have much intercourse with Westerners try to adapt themselves to this Western demand for straightforward instead of indirect and crooked replies, not always with satisfactory results.

"Has this water been filtered?" you ask. "Yes," replies the cook, "it is filtered water." After lengthy cross-examination you ascertain that three-fourths of it was added unfiltered to the other fourth, which was filtered. "How dare I tell a lie?" he asked virtuously. "When the two were so mixed up together, if I had said it wasn't filtered water I should have been guilty of prevarication."

The Chinese language lends itself to a facile use of the *double entendre*. For instance, advantage is taken of the lack of tense precision in the vernacular. You ask the servant, "Did you make this tea with boiling water?" "Yes, certainly," he replies. As the teapot was nearly

cold when first brought in, you ask further, "Did you see the water in the kettle bubble and jump?" "Oh yes." "How long since you saw it bubble and jump?" "Oh, about half an hour," he innocently replies. "Then where has the kettle been standing since?" "On the floor," he answers, quite satisfied and delighted with himself, for he has kept strictly to the letter and fallen in with the foreigners' whim for direct statements, the word for "boiling" and "boiled" being the same.

"Hasn't some water been added to this milk this morning?" "No indeed," replies the cook. By much painstaking you at last find that when boiling the milk (as must always be done in this uncleanly land) some water was put in to make up the quantity lost by evaporation. But the quantity was not "added" to.

"Have you delivered that letter?" "Yes, certainly," is the reply. But it did not reach its destination. Your boy did not explain that he had delivered it to an acquaintance to take to its destination, but you elicit that detail after a little persistent cross-examination.

When found out, being caught in the act, doing something known by everybody to be wrong, and reprimanded before bystanders, the culprit will say: "Oh, what bad form to take away my face before a lot of people! The foreign pastor has not yet learnt Chinese etiquette." And the sympathy of the bystanders is all with the one who has put etiquette before equity.

These are only specimens of innumerable instances that might be cited, but they suffice to show what a far cry it is from the Chinese to the Christian point of view, and what a mental and moral revolution is involved in conversion from the one to the other.

I will close with another quotation from Dr. Arthur Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* :—

"What the Chinese lack is not intellectual ability. It is not patience, practicality, nor cheerfulness, for in all these qualities they greatly excel. What they do lack is character and conscience. . .

"In order to reform China the springs of character must be reached and purified. Conscience must be practically enthroned. . . . What China needs is righteousness. . . .

She needs a new life in every individual soul, in the family, and in society."

This is unquestionably her need. She is awake now to a different kind of need, Western civilisation, but she is not convinced of that deeper need. Nothing but the Gospel of Jesus Christ will suffice. There is no doubt that it will suffice, but not till the Chinese have been brought to believe in it. "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?"

ARTHUR E. CLAXTON.

## THE EDUCATION QUESTION IN RHODESIA.

So far as the attention of Englishmen has been directed to South Africa of late, it has been largely directed towards two racial questions, the relation between the English and Dutch, and the introduction of a new race into South Africa, the Chinese. There is, however, in South Africa itself a third racial question which will ultimately be found to be more important than any other, the relation between white and black. It is of one aspect of this problem, as it concerns us in Rhodesia, that it is proposed to treat in this paper, viz. the question of the education of the native races.

The diocese of Mashonaland, which for practical purposes may be regarded as coterminous with the civil district of Southern Rhodesia, contains a native population of about 600,000, belonging to the Matabele and Mashona peoples, and outnumbering the white inhabitants in the proportion of 50 to 1. These native races are uncivilised and uneducated. What is to be our policy towards them in the matter of education? Are we as a Government simply to see that order is maintained, or are we to recognise our responsibility, and make provision for their education? And what is to be the attitude of the Church towards education in its missionary policy? Is it to lay it on one side, or is it to regard education as the most effective weapon which it can use in the task of evangelisation?

Now it is evident that if education is to be of any real value to people who are in such a condition as the Mashona, there must be in them some desire for it, something to which it is possible to appeal. It would be of little use to force education upon those who have no desire for it, it would be a waste of time to devise schemes for those who have no wish whatever to benefit by them. But amongst the Mashona there can be seen the beginnings of a real

desire for education. It is true that at present it is confined to a small section of the total native population, but there are signs which seem to show that it is growing and is likely to grow at a rapid rate. It exists at present chiefly among the younger generation ; the generation that is to say which is coming in contact day by day with civilisation and with new ideas. Owing to the presence of European settlers, and the growth of townships and mining settlements, there is a constant demand for native labour which is supplied very largely by the young men and lads of the Mashona kraals. There is thus a constant stream flowing to and fro between the European town and native village. The result of this is that amongst this younger generation new ideas are gradually becoming prevalent, and the contact with civilisation creates the desire for something higher than the old life. This is the want of which they at first become conscious. Their passion for wisdom is remarkable. Granted that at present comparatively few are touched with this desire, when the very short white occupation of the country is borne in mind, the wonderful thing is not that there are so few who have a desire for education, but that the numbers are as great as they are.

In the towns, Salisbury and Umtali, where there are simple night schools, under the supervision of a native teacher, there are always a number of eager scholars, while at the Industrial College at St. Augustine's, Penhalonga, the sincerity of this desire for knowledge has been manifested in a remarkable way. At this mission station, only 7½ years old, there are 100 native lads and boys, most of them Mashona : they all have to spend more time every day in manual and industrial work than in book-learning, and they have in addition to pay a small entrance fee at the time of their admission, while they are also subject to the Government poll tax of 1/ per annum. And yet, in a country that was, not long ago, almost unknown to the white man, the demand for admission is far larger than we can cope with ; every vacancy is applied for months before it actually occurs, we are perpetually refusing applicants, and it would be easy for us to double or treble our numbers, if circumstances enabled us to admit more scholars.

Of course it is true that this is but a small work, and that it is absurdly inadequate to the demands of the whole country, but it is not unfair to argue from our own experience (six or seven years ago there was but little or no demand for admission) that the desire for education is real, and that it is likely to grow. The experience of other missions has been the same. What then is to be our attitude in the face of this growing demand for education? It is a demand that must be granted. We have accepted the responsibility of governing the natives of these territories, and having accepted that responsibility we must be ready to fulfil its obligations. We cannot deny what is being asked, even if to grant it is not free from danger. And that there are dangers in the policy of educating the Mashona we may be prepared to admit. They loom very large on the horizon of many of the colonists and settlers of the country, larger perhaps than can be really justified, but it is not unnatural that the white population should, at the least from the point of view of their own self-interest, view with suspicion the growth of an educated native population who will no longer be content with the position which they have hitherto occupied. But the policy of "keeping the natives as they are" is one that is impossible, however much it may be desired by a certain section of opinion in South Africa. It is impossible because the mere contact with civilisation, the influx of new ideas, and the altered conditions of their lives, render some change in their condition inevitable. And it is impossible, also, because unless we are prepared to deal sympathetically with this desire for education, the question may ultimately be taken out of our hands. The growth of Ethiopianism<sup>1</sup> in South Africa is significant, and points to the fact that if we do not provide education for the natives of South Africa, they will get it for themselves. It is true that in Mashonaland the problem is not so pressing as in the older colonies, and that Ethiopianism has as yet hardly begun to influence our natives, but with the increased facilities for communication

<sup>1</sup> I am using the term to describe the movement, in theory religious, but really largely political, amongst the natives of South Africa, the movement which aims at making them practically free from white control. The movement has no connection with the Ethiopian Order in the Church of the Province of South Africa.

it is obvious that events will move rapidly, and that if we do not make some provision for educating them we may find that the Mashona are getting education for themselves. And then, indeed, the future will be full of danger, if we have failed to satisfy lawful aspirations, and have made it possible for the natives of this country to turn upon us with the complaint, "You would not give us what we needed ; we have got it for ourselves. What gratitude do we owe to you ?"

In this desire for education lies the Church's opportunity—it will use it as the means for the conversion of souls. Granted that the Church's work is primarily spiritual, granted that its object is the conversion of souls to the Faith of Christ rather than the erection of schools for instruction in reading and writing, yet still it must frame its methods of evangelistic work according to the opportunities which present themselves, and must use the weapons which will be most effective in accomplishing the object at which it aims. And in dealing with such people as the Mashona the method of mere preaching is not the most effective method, and does not lead to the most permanent results. It will then be wise for the Church to recognise this, and to concentrate its efforts upon those who are likely to be receptive, those who are conscious of the desire for something higher than their present condition. It may be perfectly true that what they want at first is rather knowledge than religion, education rather than Christianity, but it has been shown again and again that those who come with this desire are led on to a real conversion.

This educational work must be carefully thought out and wisely framed ; it must fit the Mashona for their place in life, for the place which, so far as we can see, they must occupy for many years to come ; it must prepare them for the altered conditions which now surround them, and make them capable of taking their part in the life of a country which has been occupied by Europeans. Above all it must not spoil them, or create a class for which there will be no employment. Unless we are careful as to our methods, it is quite possible that this may easily happen, and we may find that we have given a training to these natives which will have created in them a distaste for the old simple

agricultural life, and at the same time will not have fitted them for the new conditions of life which are springing up around them, or qualified them to earn their living by any of the methods which will be possible for them.

In the first place it is essential that the education given to the Mashona should be Christian, and based throughout on Christianity. That is to say, the primary aim that we should set before ourselves in our native schools must be the development of the Christian character and disposition in our scholars, not the imparting to them of so much secular knowledge. The daily instruction in the Christian faith, the daily training in Christian worship, are of paramount importance, and must hold their place in the life and work of each day. If this be admitted it follows from this that any education that is attempted at present must be under the auspices of some Christian body. A general system of compulsory education, education which would not be carried out on Christian lines, would at present, in the judgment of most of those who have given the question any thought, be productive of more harm than good. It is significant in this respect to note the opinion of the South African Native Affairs Commission, two members of which have stated that "The Commission does not recommend any measure of compulsory education for natives, nor does it consider it advisable that any system of general public undenominational education, independent of existing missionary organisations, should be undertaken at present."<sup>1</sup>

It would be better not to educate at all than to educate on non-Christian or purely secular lines. It must be borne in mind, however, that the problem with us differs much from that which is before our fellow countrymen now in India. We are dealing with an utterly uncivilised people, whose religious belief (such as it is) is rapidly breaking down. And it is only by training them in the Christian faith, by instilling into them the Christian virtues of discipline and humility, that we can avoid those dangers of conceit, vanity, and an exaggerated idea of their own importance, dangers which are undoubtedly fostered by a mere "literary" education in the case of people whose

<sup>1</sup> Report of South African Native Affairs Commission, p. 71.



development is as low as that of the Mashona. And it is in this way alone also that we can prevent ourselves from sharpening the faculties of their minds and intellects, only that they may be used more effectively for evil.

This religious instruction, which is to be the basis of our education, should be given definitely, dogmatically, and in a concrete form. We are dealing with a childlike race, and this fact must be remembered in presenting the truth to them. We have not to contend with subtle intellects that appreciate metaphysical arguments, but with docile, slow minds, that need to have set before them in practical form the elementary truths of the Christian faith, and the primary duties of the Christian life. The truth, if it is presented in this form, can unquestionably be assimilated by them. Certainly, it is as true of the Mashona as of the other races of South Africa, to quote again the Report of the Commission for Native Affairs,<sup>1</sup> "that there appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching, or to adopt Christian morals as a standard." It would be easy to give examples out of our experience as to the change that Christianity has wrought amongst those who have been brought under its influence here, and as to the real efforts that our new Christians make in order to fulfil the duties of their religion, and to extend its benefits to others. It would be possible also to give the testimony of thoughtful laymen to their appreciation of the superiority of these Christian natives over their heathen brethren,<sup>2</sup> but I do not wish to turn this article into a mere missionary report, and only refer to these things to show that when education is primarily Christian, the effect upon the native character is not, as we are so often told, harmful, but beneficial and uplifting.

<sup>1</sup> Report of South African Native Affairs Commission, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> A lady who had taken one of our old boys as her servant wrote to me from near Bulawayo saying, "I am so glad to be able to tell all my friends that I find mission boys a success." A well-known layman of Salisbury in January, 1905, took into his employ one of our old boys on trial. Four months later, when passing through Salisbury, I found that out of four boys in his employ three were boys who had come from this mission. They are all with him now. Another old resident of the Umtali district said to me, "—," quoting the name of one of our old boys, "has quite changed my opinion of mission boys. I used to say that I would have no mission boys on the place, now I should like to have none but mission boys."

In the second place the education must also include the training of the mind. When we proceed to develop this principle, we find ourselves in a region of controversy. For the training of the mind apparently involves that form of education with which we are familiar at home, instruction in reading and writing, and the other parts of elementary education; and there exists in South Africa a strong body of opinion which is opposed to any such education being given to the members of the native races, at least at present. We are told, and not only by those whose opinion we can afford to neglect, that it is better now to insist, in dealing with the native races, upon the necessity for the training of the body rather than of the mind. What the Mashona need in common with the other races of South Africa, so it is said, is to learn the true dignity of labour, and to be trained in habits of industry, that they may be able to take their right place in the life of the country, and promote the general welfare by contributing their share towards the labour without which there can be no common progress. And it is argued that this is of special importance at the present juncture, and that the time for the education of the mind by reading and writing has not yet come, and that such education had better be left for the present, for its effect is to give the natives an exaggerated idea of their own importance, to fill them with conceit, and to make them less useful and industrious members of society than they would otherwise be. Now, it is impossible to wholly ignore this criticism; granted that much of it is unfounded, granted that much of it comes from those who do not want the natives to be educated, there still remains a residuum which represents a lawful criticism, founded on unfortunate examples of the "educated native," the native who has learnt a smattering of reading and writing, with but little or none of the Christian faith. What is to be our attitude in the face of this criticism? Are we to repudiate the principle that the mind is to be educated? I think not; for first it must be remembered that the natives in South Africa are passing through a transition stage, and that it is unfair to judge of what will be the final effect of this form of education by what may have been its effect in certain limited cases;

and secondly, although there is this body of opinion on the one side, it is equally true that there is another body of opinion on the other side. To refer once more to the Report of the Commission for Native Affairs, we find it stated that: "The consensus of opinion is to the effect that education . . . has had generally a beneficial influence on the natives themselves, and by raising the level of their intelligence, by increasing their capacity as workers, and their earning power has been an advantage to the community."<sup>1</sup> And this is the opinion of most who have really thought deeply on the subject. Certainly our experience would lead us to say that education in this limited sense of "the development of the intellectual faculties by literary instruction" has increased the intelligence of those who have come under our charge, has quickened their faculties, and made them more thoughtful and useful in their work. It is, moreover, by the training of the intellect and the stimulating of the mental faculties, that these natives can be fitted for positions of responsibility. And from the Church's point of view this side of education is essential, for without it native teachers could not be obtained, or that native ministry through which ultimately its work must be done.

We must recognise too that it is for this kind of education that there is at present a demand. It is knowledge that these Mashona desire: the passion that brings them to our schools is the passion for reading and writing. We may deplore this, we may wish that they had more desire for education in its other branches; but we must recognise facts, and we must not crush out this desire or refuse to gratify it. And after all we must acknowledge that this demand for the training of the mind is a lawful one: these people of Mashonaland are not to live by "bread alone" any more than the races of other lands. Even if they are in a low state of development their minds and intellectual faculties need training, and there rests upon us both as a Church and as the ruling power the responsibility of seeing that their aspirations are sympathetically dealt with and encouraged. This means then that in our schools and mission stations due place must be given to the training

<sup>1</sup> Report of South African Native Affairs Commission, p. 67.

of the mind. At the present time all that will be necessary is instruction in the three R's, in the vernacular, and at least in our boarding schools in English. There is a prejudice in South Africa against the English-speaking native, but in a land where, as in Rhodesia, the average settler will not or cannot learn the language of the native, and where the native must be employed as servant and labourer, it is essential that there should be a language understood by employer and employed alike.<sup>1</sup> Without such a language it is impossible that there should be sympathy or mutual understanding. And the British South Africa Company has acted wisely in laying it down as a condition that in all mission schools which receive grants in aid from the Government English must be taught. This elementary instruction in the three R's, together with simple lessons in such subjects as geography and in the first principles of hygiene and sanitation, will be found in most cases to provide all that is necessary at present. But already there are individuals, here and there, who are capable of assimilating more than this, and for their intellectual growth and development we must be prepared to make provision.

Lastly, the education must include the training of the body, and therefore industrial and manual work must find its place, and that an important place. This is a most essential part of the education which is really required by them, in common with the other tribes of South Africa, and it is very necessary that this aspect should be emphasised.

By so doing we are likely to conciliate the opinion of the colonists, and to direct it into a channel more favourable to Christian missions (witness the almost universal praise of Jesuit missions in South Africa, missions which have emphasised manual work in their scheme of education), which is an important factor, for we ought not to provide cause for the criticisms and objections which have been so often laid against our work.

But more than this : for the sake of the natives them-

<sup>1</sup> The jargon commonly employed in Rhodesia, and known as "kitchen Kaffir," cannot be regarded as a language, however useful it may be as a means for giving commands. It would be impossible to carry on a real conversation in it.

selves it is important that we should train them in habits of industry and teach them to realise that education does not mean the mere acquisition of a little book-learning.

There are special reasons which render it necessary to emphasise now the place of work and the value of the training of the body. We have taken away from these people the old habits of war and of the chase, which to a great extent supplied them with the training which work supplies to the European. And we are bound, as responsible for their welfare, to see that something is substituted in place of that rough and ready discipline, for the circumstances of their life as it is lived now do not impress on them the necessity of work. We have by our education of them to fit them for the altered conditions of their lives, to prepare them for taking their part in a country which must for the future be, so far as we can see, a white man's land. If they are to rise at all, if they are to become qualified to act as intelligent citizens, and to help on in any manner the development of the country, the way must lie now largely through the method of work and labour.

It is not because we are in any way in sympathy with the demand sometimes made in tropical countries for forced labour, it is not because we wish to exploit the native for the benefit of those who wish to use him merely as a means for their own enrichment, but it is because we recognise that the discipline of labour provides a training which can be won at present in no other way, that we urge the importance of this part of education in our native schools. It is necessary to emphasise this, because the argument has been used by missionaries and supporters of missionary work that this is no business of the Church. "We missionaries," it has been said, "are sent to convert souls, and to do spiritual work. It is no task of ours to train mechanics, masons and carpenters. That work may be important and necessary, but it is not our work, we are only to do spiritual work, and can leave this other duty on one side." That is a position which cannot be accepted. The Incarnation has redeemed body as well as spirit, and the Church in the training of its converts must deal with the whole man, body as well as spirit.

If then this principle is granted, it follows that in any

practical scheme of education manual and industrial work will receive its due place. Here at St. Augustine's, Penhalonga, if I may quote from our own personal experience, we have always insisted that more time each day should be spent in manual work than in mere book-learning. And at any rate in our boarding schools the circumstances of our mission stations make it possible that our scholars should be taught improved methods of agricultural, ploughing, gardening, brick-making, and simple building. We have found this possible here, without having had a staff of missionaries who could in any sense lay claim to be experts in these matters. And industrial work of this nature will be found to have a real disciplinary effect upon the native character, while it will be of value to the mission itself by enabling it to be to some extent self-supporting and less dependent upon funds from home.

The question of a more definite technical training in trades is a complicated one: it involves a considerable financial outlay, a larger and more expert staff of workers; it cannot be taken thoroughly in hand until more of our mechanics and artisans are willing to consecrate themselves for missionary work; and it is at present doubtful how far those natives who have received such technical training will at present find opportunities of employment in Rhodesia, so strong is the feeling amongst white artisans against skilled coloured labour. Ultimately, however, this prejudice must be overcome, and there can be no question but that in time it will be wise policy to make provision for this training in some of our educational native centres.

What, then, should be the practical bearing of this upon the Church's missionary work? It should concentrate its efforts very largely upon educational work, realising that there lies its great opportunity. For those who will lead the natives in the future, and frame the beginning of native public opinion, will be the educated natives, and therefore the Church will aim now at seeing that these natives are educated on sound Christian lines, that they may be able to exercise their influence for good and not for evil, and guide the aspirations of their race in a manner that will promote the true welfare of the country, and

furtherance of the Christian faith. It is obvious that work, if it is to be undertaken on these lines, must be undertaken thoroughly, and will involve concentration, but it is better to have a few mission stations, and to have them effective, than to have a greater number which may make a show on paper but do not tend to such efficient work. It may mean that for the time we may have to be content with work which is slow and which can only touch comparatively few, but if slowness now means the thorough laying of the foundation, there will be rapid growth in the future, and if the few are really educated now in the Christian faith, they will do ultimately far more than we are able to for the conversion of their brethren.

E. H. ETHERIDGE.

## THE SUPPLY AND TRAINING OF CLERGY.

THERE can be no question which so urgently claims the attention of Churchmen as the adequate supply and effective training of men for the ministry.

For eighteen years there was a marked and steady decline in the number of ordination candidates, *e.g.* :—

In 1886, 814 men were ordained. In 1903 only 567, *i.e.* a loss of no less than 250 clergy. It is computed that in eighteen years there has been a total loss to the Church of 1,300 clergy. Yet the growth of population and the increased work of the Church required an increase of 3,000 clergy rather than a loss of over 1,000. And there are as yet but slight indications of improvement.<sup>1</sup>

If the supply is inadequate for home, what is to be said of the needs of the Church abroad in our rapidly developing colonies? From every part of the world the cry for more men is repeated with the importunity of despair—not only is there a fear lest the work should stand still, but that ground so hardly won should be lost altogether.

<sup>1</sup> The following statistics give the numbers ordained in England and Wales during the last ten years, with the respective approximate percentage of graduates.

	Total	Oxford and Cambridge graduates	Graduates of any University
1896	1,321 (deacons) 681	58·4	81·75
1897	1,296       "   644	58·7	77·2
1898	1,276       "   639	58	77·3
1899	1,268       "   639	59	87·1
1900	1,194       "   594	58·8	74·2
1901	1,166       "   561	59·5	76·1
1902	1,097       "   590	55·9	73·4
1903	1,164       "   567	55·4	73·4
1904	1,121       "   592	51	64·2
1905	1,210       "   636	50·8	66



And it is not merely a question of numbers—*it is imperative that the quality be of the best*. Hence the inseparable relation of the question of supply to that of the effective training of men for their work.

Much has unquestionably been expected of the clergy, but even more than has been forthcoming in the past is demanded in the present day. This is particularly true of those young and growing communities in our colonies, where the personal factor counts for even more than it does at home. If the Church is to make use of her great opportunities it is felt that the clergy themselves must be leaders, far-seeing, thinking men—they must combine the harmlessness of doves with the wisdom of serpents. President Roosevelt said not long ago that “it is much harder to find a wise serpent than a harmless dove.” From a knowledge gained by investigating the conditions which prevail in an important province abroad I do not hesitate to assert that *the quality* of our spiritual agents is of even greater moment than their quantity.

I. Consider for a moment what is done at present to secure a supply of men and to train them. So far as I am aware nothing is done by the Church as a body! That is not our way. Bishops speak warmly at times about the need of spiritual agents, on suitable occasions, *e.g.* A.C.S. and C.P.A. gatherings and the like. Some of them found diocesan theological colleges or training schools, or, as has been done by the present Bishop of Birmingham, they inaugurate a “candidates ordination training fund.” These of course have special reference to the immediate needs of their own dioceses. The subject is occasionally put down for discussion at a Church Congress, but it is usually left to be discussed by principals of theological colleges, and with a meagre attendance, because on that particular evening every effort has been made to secure a large attendance at a mass meeting for men! The clergy, after they have exhausted all means of securing a colleague by personal appeals to likely men of whom they may chance to hear from college or clerical friends, advertise desperately, and usually without success, in the Church newspapers.

Periodically the subject is handled in public school chapels and university pulpits, usually by a colonial bishop

or a missionary who has come to England in search of men.

Invariably the influence which is brought to bear upon suitable young men is entirely personal, and the fostering of a possible vocation or the missing of it will often depend upon whether the man has come in close contact with some inspiring personality among the clergy or not.

So far as the bulk of the laity are concerned the characteristic British parent barely considers the possibility of such a vocation for his sons. The bright clever boy whose career will begin at a first-rate preparatory school leading on to a scholarship at the University will naturally go to the Bar or carry on his father's business and have a seat in Parliament. One with a turn for natural history is evidently marked out for the medical profession; while the lad with plenty of spirit and a dash of adventure will follow his bent for the Army or Navy; or if these careers are barred by the expense he will go to India to administer a province, or to the colonies and make his fortune ranching or gold prospecting.

It is not until that rare product is met with called "the fool of the family" that it is unanimously conceded that he should "go into the Church" as the phrase expresses it!

II. Then when men have been ordained, how is the available force distributed?

Again, it is personal considerations mainly which determine men's spheres of influence. There is no means by which the Church's needs as a whole can be considered. The determining factor may be the attractiveness of a particular bishop, or bias towards a Church of a special type of teaching or ritual, or the attractions of a slum parish, whether in the north or south of England. But in the main result the needs of the Church as a whole are not weighed. And one parish has a large staff, another can secure none. One diocese has the pick of university men, while another cannot secure one clergyman for more than 5,000 or 6,000 people—*e.g.* the diocese of Manchester, with a population nearly as great as London, and with a much greater area, has 600 clergy less. Brighton has 1 clergyman to 1,500; Oldham has 1 to 6,000.

The disproportion is still more glaring when we compare

the number of clergy who are set to represent the Church's cause in our colonies with those at home ; nor can we be surprised at the continual wail of despair which comes to us from abroad, and at the want of men to fill places of critical importance. One of two means to secure men is usually adopted.

(a) The first is a direct invitation from a Commissary to a clergyman in a home parish to go abroad. The individual so invited is presumably doing good work where he is : he knows the needs of the home sphere : probably he is ignorant of the needs of the place to which he is asked to go. Certainly he is not in a position to compare the relative importance of his present work and the proposed new work : if he consults his vicar and his Bishop, as he probably does, he consults those who have a natural bias to induce him to remain where he is. It is little to be wondered at if he decides to remain at home.

(b) The other is the plan of inviting clergy to volunteer their services for work abroad. Men are asked to volunteer, asked, *i.e.* of their own initiative to take up new work for which they may or may not be fitted ; asked to volunteer to leave the post where they have already been placed presumably by the outward call of the Church and the inward call of the Holy Spirit. We may ask whether it is fair to invite individuals to exercise such a choice. When the number of appeals from different parts of the world is so bewildering (and when it is impossible for those who receive them to decide where men are most wanted and whether they are the right people to go), is it surprising if they settle the question by remaining where they are ?

III. By a consideration of our present procedure we must admit that there is nothing which makes it obvious that the Church *as a whole* speaks and acts as one body. From start to finish the matter is the concern of individuals.

It is my contention that until the matter of the supply and training and disposing of our living agents is seriously taken up by the Church as a whole we shall never arrive at a solution of the problem. Men are always forthcoming for all professions when the existence of the body corporate is felt to be dependent on getting them. This is true of

the Army and Navy in particular. Yes—and the best men are forthcoming when the body is determined that none but the best will do ; when the career is presented as one which offers a scope for the best ; and when, in order to train them, the body is prepared to pay for their education. When the value of efficiency is recognised money is not grudged for the technical and theoretical training of experts.

Before we can expect to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question recognition must be won for the fundamental truth that as “very members incorporate in the mystical Body of Christ” *we have a corporate responsibility*, which can never be discharged by leaving to individuals the tasks which belong to the whole Body. Where, then, is the supply of men for the ministry to come from ?

It is impossible to ask such a question and not realise what the conception of the Church’s work in the world is. She is here in the world the living representative of her Master and Lord, charged to deliver the message of the Gospel of Life by and through men to men. She is the Body of Christ, composed of living men, in which all are knit together as members, in which if one suffer all suffer together, in which each member has his special function, in the discharge of which he contributes to the effective life of the whole. She is powerful and effective in just that proportion in which all the members are filled with Christ’s spirit. When we talk of such a living Body, we mean the sum of the members of which it is composed. It is out of that Body that the supply of men for the special work of the ministry must come. Obvious as it may appear to us, it would seem to be necessary to point out that *men are not born clergymen : they are born laymen*. It is primarily a *laymen’s question*, both as to the supply and the training of clergy. And if we are in search for the reason of the apathy which we deplore we shall be right in ascribing it to the failure on the part of the Body to realise what the meaning of its life in the world is. The late Bishop of Durham said :

“ Our National Church has hitherto for the most part trusted to the spontaneous devotion of a few, when we require the organised co-operation of all. She has not made sufficient demands upon

the generous spirit of her sons and daughters. She has not acknowledged the value and the necessity of the social labour of every believer. She has not striven to inspire each one of her children with the enthusiasm of service. In this she has wronged the brotherhood and she has wronged the world."<sup>1</sup>

It is the failure to realise our corporate responsibility and the absence of a system of combined action which is the true root of the trouble.

The real strength of the appeal to engage in the great and glorious task of extending Christ's Kingdom among men can never be felt so long as it is not obvious *that the Body wants men*, that *it will provide for them* all that they need for the effectiveness of their work. There are as many young men at our public schools and universities whose ambition is not mere material successes, and who are as capable of noble enthusiasms and ventures of courageous faith as ever there were—but it is not clear to them that the Body to which they belong really wants them. The appeal does not come from the Body with authoritative voice, but from isolated individuals.

To them the career, as it presents itself broadly, is an affair of preaching many sermons on Sunday for which they instinctively feel they are unfitted: a mother's meeting on Monday, a Band of Hope another evening, with a relieving officer's work and the editorship of the parish magazine, in the intervals devoted to baptisms, marriages and burials—these things, as they see them on a visit to a college friend lately ordained, do not impress them as being either attractive *per se*, or likely to draw out what they recognise to be best in themselves. The work of the ministry and the Church they only see "in the small"—a bit here, a bit there, generally struggling and often obviously ineffective for want of backing.

The spectacle of competition between bishops at home and abroad, like rival recruiting sergeants trying to enlist men not for the whole army but for their own unit, does not go to impress men with the conviction that we regard the cause of the Church as one, whether it be in Bristol or Manchester diocese, or in England and in our colonies and throughout the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> *Lessons from Work*, p. 244.

The appeal is thereby robbed of that attractiveness which attaches to all big undertakings, demanding for their success every varied talent and capacity, and offering scope for the exercise of every faculty which men possess, providing a sphere as wide as the world itself in which can be satisfied (as nowhere else) men's love of adventure and enterprise in pioneer work, their powers of administrative and constructive skill in vigorous communities which are in the making; in which their instincts for leadership, their love of souls, their love of country, their generous enthusiasms for noble ideals can have the widest and most fruitful display.

There must be first that spirit in the Body which will send men forth to the work which it has conceived it to be its mission to achieve in the world. That spirit is *the spirit of mission*, the spirit which will go and will let go, which will move men to give the best and noblest of their sons, and compel them to furnish those whom they seek with all that they need for their work.

IV. The immediate need has become so pressing that various experiments are being tried. Bishops are initiating means for supplying the want in their individual dioceses—noticeably the Bishops of Birmingham and London.

Societies are submitting schemes for training men for service abroad in the colonies and the mission-field; I refer particularly to that of the S.P.G. Communities such as at Mirfield and Kelham have already undertaken the work. All these activities indicate the urgency of the need. But one cannot help asking whether they can be more than temporary expedients, and rather savouring of panic legislation.

Is it not possible that the time has come when it should be seen that the Church as *a whole* is determined to deal with so great a question?—*e.g.*, instead of individual bishops and dioceses making heroic and praiseworthy efforts to meet the wants which are so immediately pressing, would it be impossible that an authoritative appeal from the archbishops and bishops should bring home to the hearts and consciences of the whole Body the need which touches her very life?

Why should not a "candidates' ordination fund" be

part of a great financial scheme by which the necessary education and theological training may be provided in order that the man of God be thoroughly furnished wherever he be sent, and by which the Churchmen of to-day can provide a living wage for her spiritual agents, and an adequate retiring pension for those who become incapable of further service by age or infirmity? It is impossible to separate the question of the supply and training of young men for the ministry from the financial one which accompanies it—viz. the provision of a living wage while in work and a retiring pension when such work is no longer to be expected. We are not warranted in assuming that such expectations are Utopian and impracticable, for the great body of Churchmen has never yet been authoritatively addressed on the subject, nor has a thoroughly business-like and comprehensive scheme been submitted for its approval and support. The attempts to cope with the problem at present contemplated are with rare exceptions expedients for equipping men for the sacred ministry at a cheapened cost. The assumption seems to be that for the work of the ministry abroad a type of man will "do" who would not be considered acceptable at home. Leaving out entirely the consideration of social status, I would contend that under no circumstances should expense be grudged to provide for candidates for Holy Orders the very best education procurable in this country—I mean of course a training at a residential university.

At the same time it must be recognised that it is not essential that every young man who feels a call to missionary work either at home or abroad should necessarily be ordained. There is a great mass of work which would be more usefully done by lay trained workers than by clergy. One of "the potencies of life not yet realised" by us is the inclusion of laymen in the ranks of definite Church workers. We have yet to learn that an evangelist to the heathen, whether abroad or at home, need not necessarily be an ordained clergyman. The training of such men may very rightly be left to the missionary training colleges which already exist.

In conclusion I would submit that a satisfactory solution

of this question will not be found until we have come to recognise :

(1) That a matter so vitally important as the supply and training of men for the ministry is the concern of the whole Body corporate, and must not therefore be left to individuals acting in isolation, whether they be missionary societies or religious communities.

(2) That the time has come when the Church must speak authoritatively, and make an appeal which can be recognised as the voice of the mother speaking to the best and noblest of her sons on a matter which touches that very life.

(3) That a method of distributing the available force of men must be devised by which the needs of the Church both at home and abroad may be impartially considered.

(4) That the question of the supply and training of clergy is inevitably a financial one, and must be considered with reference both to the provision for such men of a living wage, and an adequate pension when retirement is essential.

J. P. MAUD.



## EDITORIAL NOTES.

*Introductions  
to  
our readers.*

*The Rev. F. L. Norris*, who writes on *The Opium question in China*, was in Peking during the siege of the legations and has been engaged in missionary work in North China on behalf of the S.P.G. for seventeen years. He was specially mentioned in dispatches for his conduct during the siege as having "rendered invaluable service, outside his own special duties, in working with pick and shovel in the trenches, and on the barricades, also in taking charge of and encouraging the Chinese converts in their work on the defences. He was severely wounded by the explosion of a shell."

*The Rev. J. Lambert Rees, B.Sc.*, who writes on *The three religions of China and their influence on character* has been engaged for fourteen years in China, chiefly in doing literary and translational work. He has published thirty volumes in Chinese containing histories of England, France, Germany, and Russia.

*The Rev. Arthur E. Claxton*, who writes on *Some Chinese Characteristics*, has been doing missionary work in China on behalf of the London Missionary Society for the last twelve years.

*The Rev. T. E. Slater*, who writes on *Transmigration*, will be already known to our readers as the writer of the article "The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity" which appeared in the issue of the EAST AND WEST for July 1903. He will be known to a still wider public as the author of the book "The higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity," which is one of the most important and helpful books which has been published on Hinduism.

The article by the *Rev. D. M. Thornton*, C.M.S. missionary in Cairo, contains some specially interesting information in regard to the great Mohammedan University at Cairo. We refer to this article again later on.

*The Rev. James M. Macphail, M.D.*, who kindly contributed an article to the EAST AND WEST in 1904, writes on *Medical Missions in India* of which he has himself had large experience. He is a member of the United Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society, but his article relates to all missionary societies which are doing medical work in India.

*The Rev. E. H. Etheridge* who writes on *The education question in Rhodesia* is an S.P.G. missionary in charge of the Native Training College at Penhalonga, in the diocese of Mashonaland.

*The Rev. J. P. Maud*, the vicar of S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, was one of those who went out to South Africa to prepare the way for the Mission of Help. He is at the present time engaged in revisiting some of the principal places to which the Mission of Help went.

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*The native revolt  
in Natal.*

WE trust that the long period of unrest which has existed amongst the natives in Natal will be followed by a serious effort on behalf of the Natal Government to improve the relations which prevail between the white and coloured population. Possibly, it may prove to be wise to give to the natives as large a share in the representation and the government of their country as they at present possess in Cape Colony. It is to be hoped, moreover, that the attitude which the Christian natives have taken up during the present disturbances may dispose the colonists to look more kindly upon the work of Christian Missions in their midst. The *Times* correspondent in Durban reported that three thousand native Christians had specially offered themselves to be enrolled as the nucleus of a force to be employed in quelling the revolt. We referred in our last issue to the confusion which has again and again arisen between the Ethiopian Order and the Ethiopian Church in South Africa. The former is a purely religious movement, the latter a social and political movement, which can hardly be called religious at all. The following letter from the head of the Ethiopian Order has been forwarded to us by the Archbishop of Capetown.

"My dear Lord Archbishop,—I am grieved and pained to find that attempts are being renewed again here and in England to classify the Order of Ethiopia with those who are said to be disloyal to the English Government in this land. *In Natal*, where these falsehoods are, I believe, being mainly manufactured, *the Order of Ethiopia has not a single member. There is no Order of Ethiopia in Natal.* This fact alone is enough to show those who care for truth how guarded they ought to be in receiving statements that are being made about the Order of Ethiopia.

"My Lord Archbishop, I have no hope of convincing men who want no conviction in this matter, but I solemnly declare as the Provincial of this Order that a more loyal people to the English Government cannot be found anywhere on the face of this earth.

"Your humble son in Christ,

JAMES M. DWANE."

*The opium question.*

THE article on the opium question which appears in our present issue is the first which we have been able to insert dealing with this subject. Those who have been kind enough to offer articles on the subject before have not had the opportunity of prolonged study of the question in China, or else have failed to distinguish between the effects of eating opium as practised in India and smoking opium as in China. It is because the representatives of the anti-opium society have persisted in confusing these two practices, which are totally distinct in their effects, that so little progress has been made in convincing the British public that something ought to be done in regard to the Chinese opium trade. We agree with Mr. Norris that the findings of the government opium commission have no real value as regards China, but the primary object of their investigation had no direct reference to China, but was the consumption of opium in India. They obtained a large amount of evidence which tended to show that the eating of opium in India was comparatively harmless. The vehement denunciation of this commission, because it failed to condemn the smoking of opium in China and therefore the trade in opium between India and China, which has so often been indulged in, is based upon an entire misunderstanding of the primary object of the commission. We should like to see the present government appoint a commission to investigate the smoking of opium

in China in the same careful way in which the former commission investigated the eating of opium in India. We believe that the report which such a commission would issue would convince the British public that the trade between China and India ought to be stopped. Those who desire to see something done would be wise to concentrate their efforts so as to bring pressure to bear upon the government to appoint such a commission without delay.

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*An inter-  
national uni-  
versity for  
Cairo.*

WE are glad to give currency to Mr Thornton's suggestion that the time has come for an attempt to establish a university in Cairo on similar lines to the universities which have been established at Calcutta and other towns in India. It would appear that there is practically no hope that the Al Aghar university could be so modified as to provide the education requisite for native government officials. Moreover the existence of a large Christian population, which includes Copts, Greeks and Armenians, renders it necessary that a university should be established which should not be exclusively dominated by Mohammedan influences. We are glad to learn that the English government authorities in Egypt are becoming conscious of the need, and we trust that a university may be established on broad and liberal lines and may fulfil all the objects which the writer of the article suggests.

## REVIEWS.

*Western Culture in Eastern Lands: A Comparison of the Methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East.* By Arminius Vambéry, C.V.O. Pp. 410. Published by Murray. Price 12s. net.

THE name of Arminius Vambéry is well known to all students of the politics and ethnography of Central Asia. Books from his pen have appeared at frequent intervals for more than forty years. The present volume, which can be recommended to the attention of missionary students, consists of three parts entitled "The civilizing influence of Russia," "The civilizing influence of England," and "The future of Islam." In view of the fact that Russia has nearly fourteen million Mohammedan subjects and is likely to have many more in the near future, it is discouraging to learn how great a lack of sympathy exists between the conquerors and the conquered. It is often asserted that inasmuch as Russian culture is largely Asiatic and the Russians themselves are semi-Asiatics, the Russian official ought to find it easier to get into touch with eastern peoples than anyone of purely Western origin, or than the typical Englishman. This contention, however, Professor Vambéry strenuously opposes. He asserts that the reason why Russia has failed in the past and is likely to fail in the future to introduce a higher degree of culture and civilization amongst her Mohammedan subjects is that she is bent upon destroying all traces of their nationalities and upon Russianizing them. With this end in view she has on frequent occasions employed open persecution in order to compel them to become members of the national Christian Church. Professor Vambéry writes from such extensive personal knowledge that it is hard to reject his facts or the conclusions which he deduces. We can ourselves remember when travelling in Armenia coming across some recently built Mohammedan villages inhabited by people who had lived in Russia, and to whom the alternative had been offered of becoming members of the Orthodox Church or abandoning their homes and leaving Russian territory.

In the second section of his book, in which Professor Vambéry discusses the civilizing influence of England in Asia, his conclusions, which are in accordance with the views he has frequently expressed

elsewhere, are highly flattering to English pride. His references to India's religions in this section contain, however, some serious inaccuracies. He apparently regards Islam as the prevailing religion, and says that only western influence has prevented its spreading over the entire peninsula. He speaks, too, of its energetic and continuous spread during recent years. But according to the Indian census-returns Islam is making no appreciable advance in India, and less than a quarter of the population accept it as their faith.

His disparaging remarks on Christian Missions are based upon the Indian census of 1870, and he is apparently unaware that the number of native converts which he misquotes as the result of all missionary work in India in 1870 is less than a ninth of the number given by the last census. In summing up his conclusions in regard to the relative influence exerted in Asia by Russia and England, he says: "In spite of the caste system, in spite of Moslem and Hindu separatism, there are many more points in common between the Hindus and the English than between the Russians and the Kazanis or Turkestanis. If it were not so, we should not see the most unusual spectacle of an empire extending over 1,087,404 square miles and with 294,361,056 inhabitants, held in check by 76,243 English soldiers and 150,000 native soldiers. Thus far Russia has not dared to form even a regiment of native soldiers, with the exception of the Turkoman militia, consisting of a few hundred men; and when we consider that the English in India employ whole regiments of natives, many in high positions in the Civil Service, while the Russians entrust to the natives at most only such subordinate positions as that of interpreter . . . the great difference between the systems adopted by the two Culture-bearers is very conspicuous."

To the student of Missions the last section of the book will be of much interest, and is well worthy of careful attention. The writer believes that there is nothing in the teaching of Islam which is necessarily opposed to reform and progress, and that the various sultans and other Mohammedan rulers are entirely to blame if little or no progress has been made. That several attempts at reform and progress in Turkey have been thwarted by its existing ruler admits of no dispute, but the conclusions which the writer bases upon this fact seem to us most unsatisfactory. Mohammedanism is a theocracy in which the religious and civil law are one. It necessarily follows that in the case of a Mohammedan ruler, far more than in the case of a ruler who might be nominally a Christian, a Hindu or a Buddhist, the policy and actions of the ruler are profoundly influenced by the creed which he and his subjects profess. If the writer's information can be relied on, the successors of the present rulers of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan will be

men of far less education and culture than the reigning sultans. In view of the extreme improbability that intelligent and broad-minded rulers will arise, his final conclusion is that "The still independent Moslem countries will sooner or later have to buy their moral and material union with modern culture at the cost of their political independence, and the transition from one culture to another will have to be accomplished under foreign rule."

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*Bushido in the Past and in the Present.* By the Rev. J. Toshimichi Imai. Printed in Tokyo. Copies price 1s. To be obtained at the S.P.G. House.

MR. IMAI will be known by name if not by face to many of our readers, and all who have heard him or have heard of his work in Japan will be interested to read the essay which he has just written on Bushido. He states that his object is to set forth (1) "What Bushido is." (2) How it is represented by an eminent master in Bushido, *i.e.* Yamaga Soko, born A.D. 1622. (3) How it is represented in the popular historic dramas. (4) Its present features and its bearing towards Christianity. The account which he gives of the origin and the teaching of Bushido is much less complete than that contained in *Bushido—the Soul of Japan*, by Mr. Nitobe, which was reviewed in our January issue, but the book is one which we can strongly commend to the attention of our readers. The following story which Mr. Imai gives, illustrates the difficulty which the Samurai, to which Mr. Imai himself belongs, have experienced in so altering their habits and their outlook on life as to allow them to engage in commerce:—

"Once there lived a Ronin in a small house. Being now attached to no lord and having no allowance to depend on, he nevertheless could not demean himself to trade or common labour. He waited to find service under a new lord. In the meanwhile he lived by parting with his possessions for whatever shameful price second-hand dealers would take them for.

"Now it chanced that a Samurai, who had lately accompanied his feudal lord to Yedo, wanted a tea kettle and purchased an old one black with soot and age from a dealer for the small sum of ten sen. It was one that had belonged to this poor Ronin, and which he had been compelled by cruel necessity to part with for half the price. The wife of the Samurai in polishing it up discovered that it was no old copper tea-kettle such as it had been taken for, but one of pure gold. Thereupon the Samurai spent days in finding out the dealer who had sold it to him, and from the dealer the name of the original owner. Having succeeded in his quest he called at the Ronin's house and inquired of him

whether he had parted with an old tea-kettle. Being answered in the affirmative he asked whether he was aware what the metal was. Now it was derogatory for a 'bushi' to care about such things, so that Ronin simply answered that he knew nothing about the metal, but the tea-kettle was one that had come down to him from a remote ancestor and had been in common use. Then the Samurai told him how he had purchased it for a trivial sum but how his wife had discovered its true value.

"'It would have been dishonourable in me,' he said, 'even to have seemed to rejoice in my good luck, and I have now come to return the treasure to its proper owner.'

"But the Ronin's anger kindled—'What, Sir, do you dare to insult me? Do you suppose that I would take back once sold property? No, by my sword I shall not accept it!'

"'Would you then insult me?' exclaimed the Samurai, also enraged. 'Do you think I could go home without my honesty established? No, sir, by my sword you shall accept it!' So they drew their swords to settle the matter."

*New China and Old: Personal Recollections of Thirty Years.* By Archdeacon Moule. With thirty illustrations. Third edition revised. 312 pp. Published by Seeley. Price 5s.

OUR attention has been drawn to the fact that no notice has as yet appeared in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* of the publication of the latest edition of Archdeacon Moule's book on China in 1902. As the book is one which we can so cordially recommend to the attention of our readers, we are glad to be reminded of our omission. The book affords an admirable introduction to the study of Chinese customs and character, and abounds with telling anecdotes which illustrate the various points discussed. It is unnecessary for us to remind our readers that the author is one of the greatest living authorities on the subjects of which he treats. The titles of the several chapters in the new edition are: "China roused and rousing," "The Chinese Empire; causes of its cohesion," "An inland city, Hangchow," "An open port, Shanghai," "Country life," "The house of a mandarin," "Buddhism and Taoism as they affect Chinese life," "Ancestral worship," "Superstitions," "Language and literature," "Christian Missions in China," "The future of China."



*Pioneer Work in Hunan.* By Adam Dorward and other missionaries of the China Inland Mission. By M. Broomhall. Illustrated. 114 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 2s. net.

AN account of the efforts made by the China Inland Mission during the last thirty years to open Hunan, the most inaccessible province in China, to Christian missionary influence. As the book shows, the long continued and bitter hostility of the people and their rulers has at length given place to friendly recognition and appreciation, the last fact recorded being the gift from the Chinese Governor of the province of £300 towards the purchase of a site for the China Inland Mission hospital in his capital. As late as 1897 there were no settled missionaries in the province; in 1905 there were one hundred and eleven connected with thirteen different missionary societies. Possibly the repeated refusal of the different missionary societies to accept any pecuniary compensation for the loss which they suffered during the Boxer riots may in part account for the rapid change in the public opinion of the Chinese. The writer of the book says:—

“To impress the Chinese Government with the necessity of doing their utmost to preserve the lives of those who resided in the interior, the immediate punishment of the guilty was demanded and also the payment of a fine of £10,000. In this action the China Inland Mission had no part, what action was taken being solely by the Government on political grounds, and consequently when the British Government subsequently offered the £10,000 to the Mission for use in Chinese charities, it was felt right to respectfully decline the offer, lest in the eyes of the Chinese it might appear as though the Mission had demanded compensation. This money was afterwards offered to several other societies, which naturally felt unable to accept it. Finally, the money was accepted by Yale University for use in their proposed educational mission in Central China.”

*Life of David Hill.* By Jane E. Hellier. 276 pp. Published by Clark, Edinburgh.

DAVID HILL will be known to many unconnected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society, for which he worked, as the missionary by whose instrumentality Pastor Hsi became a Christian. He was one of the most striking and effective missionaries who have ever been in China. It is a great pity that his life is not published in a more readable form. A great many extracts from journals might with advantage have been omitted and the rest of them printed in larger type; a book rather more than half the

length of the present volume could then be written with the existing materials which should obtain a very wide circulation.

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*Hinduism.* By L. D. Barnett, D.Litt. 62 pp. Published by Constable. Price 1s. net.

THIS forms one of the series of "Religions, ancient and modern," which has already been noticed in this review. The present volume provides a highly condensed summary of the teaching of Hinduism and its numerous sects which will appeal to the careful student rather than to the beginner in the study of religions. The almost infinite variety of the creeds and practices of the Hindus makes it difficult to write any popular sketch of Hinduism. The writer well says in his opening sentences "Hinduism is not one homogeneous growth of religious thought; it is neither a single tree, not a forest of trees sprung from the same stock. It is on the contrary an aggregation of minor growths, some of cognate origin, some of foreign *provenance*, all grouped under the shadow of one mighty tree. It is an influence which has taken possession of well nigh all the roads by which man approaches the Unseen in India."

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*In the Land of the Five Rivers: A Sketch of the Work of the Church of Scotland in the Punjab.* By H. F. C. Taylor, M.B. Published by R. Clark. 166 pp. Illustrated.

IN a preface to the book written by Sir Mackworth Young he gives the following striking facts taken from the last Indian Census: "The figures for the Punjab are even more remarkable. In 1881 the number of native Christians stood at 3,912: in 1891 it had risen to 19,728, and in the Census of 1901 it reached 38,513. The Census Report states that the rate of growth of the native Church during the decade approaches 100 per cent. as against 13 per cent. of advance in the general population of the province."

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*Soldiers of the Cross in Zululand.* By E. and H. W. Published by Bemrose. 192 pp. 3s. 6d. net.

AN account of the missionary work done by missionaries of the Anglican Church in Zululand from 1860 to 1897. There are few districts in South Africa where missionary work has attained so great a success as it has in Zululand, but, as this book shows, the work was for a long time carried on under great difficulties and with serious interruptions. The work accomplished by the Rev. R. Robertson during thirty-seven years forms the most interesting part of the book.

*Personality and Power, or the Secret of Real Influence.* By the Rev. G.H. S. Walpole, Rector of Lambeth. 188 pp. Published by Elliot Stock. Price 2s. 6d.

THOUGH this volume contains no direct references to foreign Missions, it is one which would help to inspire any missionary in his work, and might with advantage be bought by those desirous of sending a helpful book to any missionary of their acquaintance. We have only room for a single extract, but the whole of the volume is deserving of attention. When discussing the hidden power which made possible the marvellous expansion of Christianity, the author contrasts the mean surroundings of the Apostle Paul with the apparent power and influence possessed by his contemporary Seneca. He says :—

“ Could Seneca have visited the mean and dingy room in Rome where the Apostle lived in the year 61, he would ‘ have seen a Jew with bent body and furrowed countenance, with every appearance of age, weakness and disease, chained by the arm to a Roman soldier.’ He would have seen the complete contrast to himself: bondage instead of liberty, suffering instead of ease, weakness instead of power. It would have been impossible for him to believe that that poor prisoner would soon achieve a fame that he would envy ; that his own reputation and the interest the world held in it would, to a large extent, depend on the possible supposition that he once met him ; that the letters written from that mean room would rank as the great treasures of the world. There were no signs of greatness, of power, except the illuminating look in the saint’s eyes. And yet that impossible thing took place ; and its secret is the main power to-day, as it has been for centuries, in every department of life.”

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*Madras Diocesan Magazine.* Price 4 annas.

A WELL-EDITED and well-written monthly diocesan magazine recently started for the diocese of Madras.

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*A Dorset Captain of the Army of Christ: A Memoir of the Rev. H. V. Norman, of the North China Mission.* By the Rev. R. W. Dalison. Published by W. Frost, Bridport. 50 pp. 1s.

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*Without Prejudice, or the Case for Foreign Missions simply Stated.* By C. H. Martin. 95 pp. Published by the S.P.C.K. Price 6d.

THIS little booklet is written in a very simple style, and is an earnest appeal to Christian people to support Foreign Missions.

# The East and The West

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OCTOBER 1906

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## CHURCH AND STATE IN CHINA.

THE unchanging East is nevertheless changing ; certainly in these Far Eastern regions of China, and yet more so still nearer the sunrising, in Japan.

It is so impossible to prognosticate with accuracy the further trend and the ultimate result of these changes, especially in China, that it is the more innocent and permissible to offer surmises and suggestions on the subject, since I shall not be criticising or attempting to overthrow any sure laws of sequence or dogmatic certainties.

My intimate acquaintance with China, dating from 1861, has taught me that not even the experience of the most experienced observer can make him an infallible guide and teacher, yet such a long acquaintance with the land must, of course, supply many surmises and suggestions of probability and perhaps utility.

My life in China has shown me a good deal of old and slumbering China ; a good deal also of China stirring in her sleep and now roused and rising. But she has a tendency to take a little more sleep, a little more slumber, so vast is she, and so hard to shake and to awaken in all her great length and breadth. Just after the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion—about the years 1863 and 1864, partly as the result

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**NOTE.**—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

of the practical overthrow of the reigning dynasty by the T'ai-p'ings (an overthrow which, but for Western help, would have been final), partly also in consequence of the recognition of the supreme power of their deliverers from the T'ai-p'ing yoke—there was a craze for the acquisition of English, similar to the present great awakening, though on a smaller scale. It is a significant fact also that almost all the items in the Reform programme for China now were embodied in the proclamations and pronouncements of the earlier days of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion.

Will the present awakening pass into full vigorous life, or will it die away or deteriorate into unwholesome change? I shall touch on these questions further on. But let me first indicate and explain the title of my present article, "Church and State in China." I do not propose to discuss the possibility of a future union, near or more remote, of Church and State in China similar to that in England. The Church is not likely to be endowed by the State, any more than the English State has endowed or now endows the Church of England; for even Church rates have long ceased. Neither will the Church of China depend for stability of life and support on State establishment; even as the English Church is perhaps more a foundation of stability for the Christian State of England, than that State for the Church. In fact, I do not discuss now the union of Church and State in China at all; though such a union is surely conceivable when we know that "all the kings of the earth shall sing in the ways of the Lord." "The nations of the earth shall bring their glory and honour into the gates" of the heavenly Jerusalem, the Church triumphant, and triumphant in China before long. And the Church in that land may, even in a fuller sense than is the case with the English Church now, form the representative and the exponent of the nobler higher life and Christian utterances of the nation. The problem to which I wish to draw attention is this. The forces and influences at work with daily increasing effect in Chinese civil and social life are already influencing and may soon largely control the Church for good or for grave harm.

I observe, then, first that the "New Learning" and new systems in education and in examinations, if only well

assimilated and wisely introduced, must be welcomed by China and by all her true lovers. But what is needed here, in China, and elsewhere also, is the true modern conservatism which, in its love and reverence for the past and the achievements of the past, can be trusted to judge how to adopt and adapt reform—and that true liberal unionism which does not divorce but weld the new and the old. Instead of this there are in China symptoms of crude, hasty, and ill-considered measures, brought forward by those who would uproot and reject, but have sufficient seed-corn for a new sowing in view of securing another harvest. The decree of last year (1905), for instance, abolishing the old curriculum of education and the system, some seventeen centuries old, of public competitive examinations based on that curriculum, would be more heartily welcomed were it engrafting, and not uprooting. For indeed the old range of Chinese study and research and knowledge, though stretching back through the vast and solemn reaches of the Empire's history, and wide as the wide Empire's bounds, was yet restricted, stunted, and most imperfect. Yet the history of China is invaluable, and the records of her great ethical and philosophical teachers, the poetry and the rites of the ancient land, and above all the manifold treasures thus conserved of her classical book-language, severely concise and yet graceful in idiom, and yielding itself in wealth of phrase to translations of the literature of other lands—all this, and the laws and manners of politeness and courtesy, of decorum and reverence for parents, for age, and for authority, bound up as it seems with the literature and education of the Empire, appear to many to be in grave peril, if not of complete effacement and neglect, yet of comparative desuetude and oblivion. It seems to be imagined that Western languages must form not only a high road to positions of wealth and promotion, but the royal road to Western learning. Therefore their own book-language, wên-li (a language for the eye rather than for the ear, and the common means of inter-communication between all educated people in this many-tongued Empire), is too often becoming neglected, in order to allow time for the acquisition of some Western tongue, instead of their accepting and augmenting the

number, already very considerable, of translations of standard Western literature into Chinese. And there is this further danger which forbids the unhesitating welcome of reform and change in this respect—namely, that “young China,” growing restive under Western assistance and advice, and intoxicated by the spectacle of young Japan’s astonishing achievements, thinks she can by her own less than half educated students teach herself that Western learning which she would fain despise but cannot help coveting ; while she suspects her true friends, these very Western teachers. Or at best she submits with mingled admiration and suspicion to the teaching of the little island empire at her side, which defeated her ten years ago and now champions her rights—this, rather than be taught by the Republic across the Pacific or the masterful island across the world in the distant West. Hurry, pride, self-confidence, forgetfulness, revenge, and, worst of all, ingratitude, mingle too much with the awakening of true patriotism, and the strengthening of righteous indignation against old wrongs, to make one sure that the revival of learning in the East will be so surely linked with the higher life of the nation, and the deep and high reform of the Church, as was pre-eminently the case in the West. It is a notorious fact that some of the recent outbursts of violence (at Shanghai, for instance, and at Nanchang) are directly traceable to the agitation and inflammatory utterances of some of these very half-trained and half-educated students, under the guise of patriotism, and to the stirrings of jealousy for what they call China’s sovereign rights and for the honour of their country. The agitators failed to see that by this hasty and hostile action they are traitors to their country’s best interests, and tend to postpone by many years the acquisition and recognition of these rights. How can we suppress our fears as to the effect on the Church of these elements in State reform and the nation’s civil changes ?

A significant rumour which, even if unfounded, tends to show the drift of popular opinion in regard to a possible union between Church and State in China, began to circulate a few months ago. The Emperor has long been regarded as a kind of “head of the Church” and high

priest of the nation, owing to his sole prerogative and duty to offer prayers as the Son of Heaven in the temple of Heaven. But now, as a sudden outburst of modern awakening, popular rumour has mingled with the ancient sanctions a religion, presumably Christian, which, it is said, has been imported from the United States by a Chinese Christian, supported liberally, so it is believed, by his Christian Chinese friends in America. The religion is said further to have a not insignificant following in Shanghai. This Christian Church for China is to be quite independent of foreigners; no interference or guidance or advice will be accepted from them. Rumour further asserts that this religious demonstration of China for the Chinese, has already won the approval and blessing of the highest authorities in the Chinese State.

"All things new" is the cry in China now. But all things new with Chinese money and agencies, whenever this can be achieved. How will this cry and its response affect the Church of China?

It is worth remarking that the self-support, self-government, and self-extension of the Chinese Church, were from the first objects present to the minds of missionaries both of the Anglican Church and of other Christian bodies. On my arrival in China in 1861 I was soon introduced to a Chinese gentleman of conspicuous ability, refinement, and piety, whom the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society then in Ningpo (two of them afterwards themselves raised to the Episcopate) pointed out as "our future Bishop." I am not sure but that the word "our" was used designedly, and that English clergy would have been prepared to work for the time in China under the jurisdiction of a Chinese prelate. It seems more probable, however, and perhaps I may say more natural, that the Anglican Episcopate and Church Order will advance as the vanguard of the Chinese native Church, with Chinese auxiliaries of necessity accompanying, and that through God's grace they will occupy and evangelise new regions beyond, baptising, confirming, ordaining, organising these infant Churches, till the great Church of all China advances too, strong enough and thankful to take over from the Western Church their charge, and set that Church free for



further advance into regions where Christ is not yet named.

And we are fast nearing in our older Missions this very necessity, so happy and yet so critical, and requiring such mingled delicacy of touch, resolution, and of Church Statesmanship—the transference of these Churches from foreign to native control. Hands and hearts are required to guide, under the power of the Holy Ghost ; strong from the very tenderness of their sympathy—sympathy learned and fostered by days and nights and years spent on the battle-field side by side with the Chinese Church. The keen, zealous, and energetic missionary with push, courageous enthusiasm, and whole-hearted devotion is wanted, and ever will be wanted, in the Church militant in China. It will not do with loud and generous liberality to say to the Chinese Church, “Depart in peace ; be thou warmed and filled. There is no further need of our help : we will go.” Not so ! I cannot for a moment agree with some, whose judgment I yet highly honour in missionary politics, that the Church of China must be left absolutely free to choose everything for herself, or to decide her order and orders, her ritual, her common prayer, her administration of the sacraments, if not her creeds. For truth is not a matter of choice and taste, but a word to be proclaimed and obeyed. And, believing as we do that in the doctrine and order of the Church of England we have brought to China that which seems to us best—by the light of Scripture and history the best that we know of—this transference from foreign to native control needs wisdom and persuasiveness, which may prevent the native Church in her independence from breaking with the old ; but may rather bind closer the chain of one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one order and ordinal, one form of common prayer. This chain should link them to the Church Universal on earth and in heaven, being riveted the more firmly for the snapping of temporary chains. We remember the wise reminder of the Thirty-fourth Article that “Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change or abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done [by this independent, and we trust in national Church of China] to edifying.”

And this mention of a national Church of China leads to a question even more pressing than the discussion of the effect on Chinese Christianity of the present upheaval in her political and intellectual and social life—namely, our own duty to Chinese Christianity. The re-union of Western Christendom seems to many earnest minds no less desirable than of old, but less and less practicable and, perhaps because of the great differences of nationality and custom and environment, not wholly desirable till the Lord of the Church come, and everlasting union and communion come with Him.

But in China, which is essentially one nation, with one language for literature, one supreme ruler, one legal and social system, there seems no reason why the Christian Church should not exhibit a unity corporate and efficient such as we sigh for and despair of in the West. What can we do to effect this? Am I wrong in thinking that at this crisis of jealous thought, in China any premature attempt at securing unity by forceful application of principles of unity, without the fullest consideration of the exceptional circumstances which may make that application offensive and unwise, must end in disaster and injury to the very cause it is meant to forward?

But the blunt question must be answered. How can the Christianity of the West plead with China and help China to secure the unity of her Christian Church, until we Western Christians have set our own house in order? Is it too late?

There are unmistakable symptoms of anxious care amongst all Christians and yearning for practical remedy in the present state of the dissensions and separations of Christendom. In the Anglican Communion in China, with its three great working representatives, the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, the S.P.G. and C.M.S. Missions, there is a desire for more demonstration to the Church and to the world, and more active practical recognition, of the essential union of the Anglican Communion, and of more sympathetic interaction, by some general synod or otherwise, on the part of these three great Anglican messengers of the Church. This yearning had been anticipated by other Christian Churches in China; and,

with shame to ourselves we say it, and thankfulness to God for what those other Churches have done, it was well for China and for the Church universal that China had not to wait for and depend solely on the too late and too feeble work of the Anglican Churches.

The Presbyterian Churches in China, once working under different names and organisations, have effected a remarkable corporate union. And the same longing for union amongst the different varieties of the same denominations is affecting other Christian communities. But further, there is an agitation all over China now, and affecting a large proportion of her 3,000 non-Roman missionaries, a movement, too, with which prominent English and American churchmen sympathise, for some amalgamation of all Christians in China. We have here a sign that the Christian conscience is awakening to the grave danger which exists lest the Church of China should perpetuate all our unhappy divisions, or should reject Western Christianity on the ground that its members are divided, and are therefore unworthy to teach the Chinese the one faith, and should "boycott" as foreign what comes not from abroad but from heaven.

I admit that by generalising too freely I may be betrayed into some serious exaggerations on this subject. My experience in China has been that the differences amongst Christian missionaries do not hinder the Chinese from examining, and through God's grace accepting, the faith, nearly so much as we should on *à priori* grounds have supposed. So long as all preach one God and one mediator between God and man, being Himself both God and Man, Christ Jesus, and so long as our credentials are attested by one divinely inspired Book, the individual acceptance of Christianity is not delayed or obstructed by these divisions. Neither do I think lightly of Chinese Christianity, which has passed nobly and unscathed through the fire and water of martyrdom; and which numbers among its communicants men and women of high character and devotion; many "mighty in the scriptures," golden-mouthed preachers; accurate and trained teachers; and possessing powers of organisation and business capacity which belong to the Chinese character. These Christians will not easily be

moved away from the foundation and hope of the Gospel. But my fear is that what is true of the individual Christian may not be true of the Church ; and though many in these days bid us say little or nothing about the Church, and unite in speaking chiefly of those ethical teachings on which all thoughtful minds in all ages, Platonist, Confucianist, Buddhist, Jew, and Christian unite—we “cannot away with” such fancies. Our Lord has much to say of the Church, and when the Church of a nation is organised and not merely the faith of an individual soul, there a danger arises from the divisions of Christendom, lest the Church of China reject the whole sacred and divinely appointed system because of the faults of its members. And where neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor peril, nor sword avails to separate the soul and the Church from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the pride of fancied independence, the ambition of walking alone, the intoxication on casting off a yoke which has not really oppressed but has only guided the early Church in China, may produce grave aberration if not actual apostasy.

Am I wrong then in reading into this latest appeal for amalgamation, notwithstanding the weakness of some of its suggestions and resolutions, this thought—we *must* unite in the face of China, non-Christian and Christian, in order that we may conserve and bless and help the Church of this land? Is there no one central Church round which we can gather ; with which, not absorbed or obliterated, but comprehended, we may all unite? It must be thus. It will never do to unite on no basis, as China in her false independence is in danger of doing. It must be a Church ; one—not no Church, or many. And that Church, if a true member of Christ's body, must not be asked to surrender, for the sake of level unity, her bulwarks, her spires, and high-soaring towers of doctrine and ritual, but to open her gates more widely, and go out more lovingly and helpfully to meet and welcome in all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

Is there not a hope that to the Anglican Church the eyes of very many Christians will turn, if only she is faithful to the Reformation settlement? I say this in all soberness, as the one condition by which such union can

be asked for and expected. For did not the Church at the Reformation, self-reformed, reunite herself with the faith and the Church order once delivered to the saints, by sweeping away doctrines and ceremonies, the commandment only of men, which had gone near to separate her from the ancient Church of Christ? And this rallying-point, this central exhibition of the faith Catholic and Apostolic, will not obliterate the teaching and the Church order of other Christian Churches. But, maintaining her own intact, the Anglican Church will feel the thrill and the pulsation of fresh life and energy by the comprehension of all true Christians.

I write this article amidst the distracting surroundings of a Chinese wayside inn, and during travel and visitation of distant districts in this country which I love so well. I cannot verify references, and I have no time to do more than record the thoughts which have risen in my mind when contemplating the revolution and upheaval in China. The readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* will pardon me if I merely repeat old theories and reiterate old and perhaps impossible suggestions. But is not such a reunion on such a basis possible, at any rate in a country like China, so that with one heart and one voice and one face, we may appeal to the Chinese never to leave the communion of the One Church of the Living God? Will Episcopacy be a serious matter of contention? Not so, I think, and it must be maintained; and the episcopal rule must be recognised. But the hands and the influence and the rule of the Presbytery must be, much more than now, accounted of. Will infant baptism split this union and cleave it at once and finally? I cannot think it. It cannot be surrendered; and the plan adopted in one instance known to me by those who yet believe in and practise infant baptism in other cases, of holding it in abeyance to avoid offence to some excellent fellow-workers, will not work for the union of true charity but for the tyranny of the false charity. "Infant baptism is in any case to be retained in the Church as most agreeable to the institution of Christ." Baptism, the sign and the sacred pledge of regeneration (and that regeneration being the indispensable pre-requisite for seeing the Kingdom of God) cannot be withheld from the little children

whom the Lord of baptism himself recognises and welcomes as members of that kingdom. But the Baptist contention for immersion will find full recognition in the Anglican Church, if only the Baptist condemnation of sprinkling and pouring be withheld. And the Baptist contention for the baptism of believers and the necessity of conversion will only deepen the Church's appreciation of the solemnity and significance of confirmation—the grave and humble and deliberate declaration that that conversion has taken place and will be effectual through the defending grace of the Holy Ghost. But the Baptist must not deny that that very conversion is the true efflorescence and fruit of the grace of baptism, the Holy Spirit's heavenly washing and renewing and sanctifying power granted to believing prayer—for “He gives,” then in baptism, “to those who ask.” And so dedication of infants to God which Baptists largely practice they will find wonderfully similar to our infant baptism; and baptism which the Church sometimes treats too much as a form dubious in its lasting effects, will be intensified into solemn and believing dedication and acceptance by God of the “loan to the Lord,” and this dedication will be with all the conscious zeal of adult baptism renewed at confirmation. The Church once more must maintain its corporate nature as the aggregate of many congregations; and the interdependence of these. But the fact that each congregation, yes, each family too, is a Church in itself, and that noble form of congregationalism in the loyalty of people to pastor, and the life of the pastor in the life and growth of his people, these more vividly realised by the advent of the great Congregationalist body (the first in the hundred years of modern missionary work to bring the Gospel to China), will give fresh energy to the Church itself. And how gladly will she welcome back to her communion and her ministry the great Wesleyan Church—those who never would have left the Church of their fathers had that Church not been slumbering in formalism and neglect. Finally, at her peril the Church will surrender her creeds as creeds, and her articles, which have been called the “concentration of the research and wisdom and pious learning of the fathers and confessors of the Church.” But

all will be held and expounded and believed, not with the elasticity of human fancy and preference, but with the divine elasticity of the Bible itself—the marvellous many-sidedness of the one Faith as set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

Is all this chimerical, or a mere platitude too often and in vain reiterated? Be it so. Yet sure I am that a grave danger may very speedily beset the Church of China, possibly too quickly for remedy. And to preserve corporate unity in that Church; to avoid heresy, schism, disruption and disaster; to preserve its union and communion with the Apostolic because the Scriptural Church of Christian Western lands, that Christian Church must labour for reunion and purity at home, and for the exhibition of union abroad, and so, with one mouth, it may say to the Church of China, "Come, thou great Church of this great land with us; and in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace, and by the grace and abiding presence of the Lord of the Church, we will do thee good."

ARTHUR E. MOULE

## CHINESE CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHINESE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

1. *National Character*.—An hour's walk on the Shanghai Bund is a study in anthropology. One watches the crowds as they pass to and fro, and sees an endless variety of humanity. There are men of all nations, men of Asia, Africa and Europe, of every race and of every tongue. No wonder that we who live here call ourselves cosmopolitans. As this crowd of human beings passes by us we are continually sorting and arranging them into their several groups and classes, and we perform this operation almost unconsciously, distinguishing the different nationalities from each other. English, German, Russian, Indian, Korean, Japanese, classifying them by the national type which we recognise at a glance. But the outer and more obvious differences are but the symbol of inner differences more deep and far reaching. Just as one nation differs from the others in physical characteristics, so it is distinguished by a number of mental and spiritual characteristics which mark off its people, quite as distinctly as does their outward appearance, from the men of other countries. These mental and moral characteristics, each of which is the result of ages of development acting upon the original capacities and endowments of the race, are what we speak of as national character.

I do not propose to analyse this very complex thing, composed of so many elements and slowly fashioned in such various environments and under such different historical conditions, but merely to bring out that there is such a thing as national character. It is easier to feel than to describe, but it is a fact which we all take into account. No one can be brought into contact with men of another race, or even read attentively their history and literature,



without recognising something of the type of character which the nation or race presents.

2. *Christianity affected by National Character.*—We shall readily admit that this national character profoundly impresses itself upon the social and political institutions of a nation as well as upon its art, literature and music. It is only what we should expect, therefore, to find that it affects religion no less deeply. Most religions never pass beyond the country where they have their origin; but Christianity, the world religion, has passed from land to land and established itself among men of every race. As we watch its progress through the centuries, we note that when it becomes the religion of any people it becomes influenced more or less deeply by the character of that people. It is not that Christianity itself changes and becomes something other than it was. The great facts upon which it is based and the great doctrines which are the logical explanation of the facts remain as true in the twentieth century as they were in the first; but national character comes in in many ways to modify the inward conception and the outward form of religion. Emphasis is laid more strongly upon one side of a doctrine than upon another; either the moral, the intellectual, or the spiritual side of Christian life is most insisted upon; while there is a wide area for adaptation in the outward expression of religion in worship, as the national temper demands more or less of form and ceremony to express itself. History furnishes us with instances of this process. Judaic Christianity, though it existed but for a brief period, was of a well-defined type. It laid special stress on the doctrine of the Messiah and of the Kingdom of God. Its thought was expressed very largely in the forms of the Old Testament, and it emphasised above all else the thought of God. Greek Christianity dwelt more on Man. Its effort was to reconcile the truths of science and philosophy with the truths of Christianity. Our conception of our religion as the Truth, and our inheritance of a clear theology are largely due to the Greeks. Latin Christianity, on the other hand, cared less for speculation and was practical in its bent. It carried the old Roman idea of law into the sphere of religion and developed the great thought of the

Church as the Kingdom of God. The thought of order is carried out in canon law and forms of worship and in a regulated and uniform ritual. What we may call Teutonic Christianity differs widely in type from all of these. It is much concerned with the individual and his moral and spiritual relations with God and with his fellow men. I shall not be considered as refining too much when I say that within Teutonic Christianity itself there are clearly marked types: German theology, for instance, containing more of the mystical element, while English theology is greatly influenced by considerations of the application of theology to practical life, and American theology is eclectic, impatient of tradition, and apt to try short cuts in the solution of problems.

It is not possible to do more than indicate the chief differences between the various types of Christianity, and to ascribe them very largely to national character. So much, however, it seemed necessary to do as an introduction to the subject of Chinese Christianity.

3. *Chinese Christianity*.—I would say at once that by "Chinese Christianity" I do not mean what is sometimes spoken of under that title. We have all of us heard disquisitions about the need of an "Oriental Christ," and there is an idea abroad among the Chinese that it is possible for them to select what they like from Christianity and reject the rest, and then, on the basis of what they have selected, build up a structure which will be Chinese pure and simple. It is neither thoughtful nor reverent to speak of an Oriental or an Occidental Christ, and it is plain that to build on any other foundation than historical Christianity would be to produce something which might be Chinese, but would have slender claim to be called Christian. One fears that it might contain something approaching to the vision which an old friend of mine used to conjure up when we conversed on this subject. "The Chinese idea of Christianity," he would exclaim, "would be to have a temple with the Emperor on a throne at one end, and the clergy crawling up the aisles on their hands and knees." Let us hope that it would not be as bad as that, but still the idea of "China for the Chinese," as expounded nowadays by students who have spent six months in Japan,

would contain some grotesque possibilities if it should be translated into the sphere of religion.

Leaving such speculation on one side, let us take it for granted that the Chinese are much like other men, and do not need a special religion any more than they need a special arm or a special eye. Let us assume that, as all the Christianity in this empire is of one or the other type of historical Christianity, this is the Christianity which the Chinese will accept if they accept any. We can then turn to the inquiry how and in what directions Chinese national character is likely to modify the Christianity thus received. A Christianity spun out of Chinese brains and having no more connection with the historical religion than a spider's web which hangs from the wall by a thread or two is of little interest, but it would be well for us to give more thought than we do to the question of the ways in which Chinese character will affect Christianity, and what the extent of such modification is likely to be.

4. *Chinese character*.—I shall not attempt to give a minute account of Chinese national character, but will try to bring out certain broad and well-defined traits which are found in this people in the past and in the present, and are, therefore, likely to persist in the future. They represent tendencies which will continue to flow strongly under the surface, however much that may be affected by superficial changes.

(a) The Chinese are eminently a practical people. They look to the uses of things, and reduce everything to the value of its actual results. They have been little given to abstruse speculations as to the origin and nature of things; the "Yin and Yang" has been for them the all-sufficing explanation of the universe which no one seems ever to have seriously questioned. Religion has been to them not a matter between the soul and God, nor a question of the claims of revealed truth, nor an allegiance to an ecclesiastical institution. It is largely summed up in duty to the family, duty to the State, and duty towards ancestors. The elements of awe and mystery, the deep search for truth and the warmth of religious emotion are almost lacking. Nowhere in all the empire is there a shrine which is capable of arousing a sentiment of reverence or veneration

except the altar of heaven at Peking under the open sky. Yet we must approve the practical quality of Chinese thought in that it has kept them close to fact and led them to connect religion and every-day life. What we deplore is the strong tendency to materialism, the lack of depth and loftiness in religious thought, and the failure to transfuse religion with the warmth of devotion.

(b) The Chinese are formal. They are a nation in which custom reigns supreme. They value rule and form and ceremony in religious ceremonies. The complicated etiquette of Chinese social life embarrasses and perplexes us, yet we cannot fail to see its power to regulate society and to note how completely it succeeds in securing the submission of the individual. The stable quality of Chinese character, law-abiding, tenacious of tradition and changing slowly under new influences, comes largely from this tendency towards the regular and formal. The defect of this habit of mind is, however, very evident, in that it tends to lifeless formalism and the adherence to custom without truth. Whatever its defects may be, there is no question that it marks strongly and unmistakably all Chinese life and history. They are as much the people of form and propriety (Li) as the Greeks were the people of art and the Romans the people of law.

(c) It follows from the practical tendency of Chinese thought that they emphasise the moral rather than the intellectual or the spiritual. They have accepted from the past certain moral principles which are to them the foundation of all else, and their history and literature are largely the working out of these principles. The range of these principles is limited and the warmth of spiritual fire does not burn in them, but this limited range makes them easily comprehensible, and the Chinese have certainly succeeded in getting them accepted by the whole population, so far as theory goes. Every coolie can talk to you of filial piety and tell you something of the Five Constant Virtues. They are a strong influence upon the lives of millions of people, and in Chinese history we meet again and again with men who have held fast by these principles in the face of disgrace and death.

• (d) The Chinese are social. No people has the faculty

for association more strongly developed. They unite in the family, the clan and the state, they are allied by manifold bonds in associations, guilds, and trades-unions. The irrepressible desire to amalgamate finds an outlet in the numerous secret societies which are such a plague to the Government and curse to all law-abiding citizens. Union is admirable, but the Chinese pay a heavy price for it. Personality is of small account, and the individual is compelled to fall in with the majority and sacrifice his own convictions. It is amazing to see how the rights of the individual are ignored and the claims of personality set aside. This is, to men of our race, the last and worst of tyrannies. Yet we cannot withhold our admiration when we see how strongly and smoothly the system works and note the cohesive power which binds this mass of men each to his own centre, while it holds the various groups together by its attractive force.

5. *Probable effects upon Christianity.*—These four strong characteristics are marks of Chinese character which we can accept as practically universal. Chinese national character is practical, formal, moral and social to a high degree. It is in these directions then that we are likely to find the probable modifications which will make Christianity in China a distinctively Chinese Christianity. It is a far more difficult matter to form an estimate of what will be the range of their influence and of the amount of force which they will severally exert in bringing about the great result. We may safely say, however, that something like the following will be the general line of development. The practical quality in the Chinese mind will estimate Christianity by its effects, as a system capable of producing works of philanthropy, as having an application to family life and daily affairs, and as a help to good government. At the same time it will be apt to blur theological distinctions, so that Chinese theology is not likely to be broadly based intellectually nor thought out logically, and is likely to lack almost wholly the mystical element.

The formal element will be sure to express itself in services soberly ordered and in a carefully regulated ritual. Respect for tradition and custom will be of great value in holding the Christians to the faith which they have learned

and in securing the unimpaired transmission of Christian doctrine. It is largely to this quality, as has been previously noted, that Chinese stability is due. What keeps them steadfast is respect for law and order ; obedience to custom rather than unswerving adherence to intellectual conviction. The danger is near at hand, however, that Chinese Christianity will tend to become formal and mechanical.

It is well that the moral element should be emphasised, but the danger here is that the spiritual side of things will be obscured, that there will be a lack of warm feeling and devotional life. If the tendency to see things from the moral side alone should repress spiritual impulses, it would be the greatest misfortune which could befall Chinese Christianity. And yet here is where one cannot but feel that the danger chiefly lies. I have often pondered with many misgivings on the difficulty of stirring the devotional nature of the Chinese. It has struck me very forcibly that Chinese Christians appear to make far less use of the Psalms than they do of the historical books of the Bible or the Epistles of St. Paul. I have repeatedly tried to induce educated Chinese Christians to read the "Imitation of Christ," the noblest devotional book which the Church has produced. I have tried in turn both the English version and those in Chinese, in the classical style and in mandarin, but I have never seen any indication that the book was felt to be specially interesting, or that it was adopted as a valuable aid to the devotional life. But, if the Psalms and the Imitation do not appeal with power to Chinese hearts, it must be from some inherent defect or lack in the Chinese character ; and this is the cause why they fail to touch the springs which they touch so universally in the hearts of others throughout the Christian world. Nothing would be a greater relief to me than to find that my own observation was not borne out by that of others, for if it is true to fact, it implies a serious lack in Chinese religion.

When we come to the social side of Chinese character, the way in which it will work is clearer than that of any of the other three characteristics which I have named. The Chinese Church will be a Church of countless organisations,

such as burial clubs, benevolent associations, guilds, and the like. Indeed, these associations exist already outside of the Church, and only require the Christianising of the motive to make them valuable auxiliaries in Christian work. Taking into account the strength of the social element in Chinese character, it is apparent that Chinese Christianity will not be solely a matter of the individual conscience, but will develop itself through that greatest and most universal of all associations, the Christian Church, and we may well believe that Christian principles working in their turn upon Chinese character will secure the due rights of personality, and give the individual soul a new value in the eyes of this people.

6. *Other qualities.*—It will be understood that I have not been attempting to give a complete account of Chinese character, but only to sketch the salient points, and that I have not been laying down what must necessarily take place, but only estimating probabilities ; which is all we can hope to do in so complex a question, where the results lie in the future and are liable to be modified in so many ways by facts of which we cannot take account, and by influences which, though not strong at present, may develop in time into importance. Let us glance at one or two of these. Imagination, which appears to be a very active part of the Chinese mind, to judge by their poetry, novels and fairy-tales, will be at work, we may be sure, to correct the materialistic bias which is the fault of the practical temper. The popular persuasion of a life after death, which appears in so many perverted forms, and yet has been strong enough to withstand the scepticism of the scholar class, if once purified from superstition would exert a powerful influence upon the form of Chinese Christianity, bringing the world of the departed nearer to the world of the living and emphasising the oneness of Christians who have gone before with the Church militant here on earth. At present the belief in immortality is crude, vague and superstitious, but it contains the germ of better things.

The only other quality I shall mention is the capacity for self-renunciation. The world has united to put down the Chinese as selfish and calculating, and we are too apt to accept this verdict and justify it from our experience

of the untrustworthy builder and the grasping cook ; but there exists, nevertheless, in Chinese nature a capacity for self-renunciation which is rarely suspected. It appears already in the classics in the sacrifice of T'ang, it is an accepted principle in the school of Confucius, and it has survived in a succession of scholars who have held fast to the love of learning and the practice of morality in the midst of poverty and neglect. It comes to light in the final chapters of the " Dream of the Red Chamber," where you would least expect to find it, and it forms the motive of that strange allegory the " Journey to the West." There are countless tales of men who have wearied of the world and its vanities, and forsaken it for a life in some mountain hermitage. It has been sufficiently strong, even in this land of the social relation, to tear away the individual from the bonds which held him to the family and the State and to send him out in quest of an ideal. This is a quality of which we seldom think, and which the Chinese themselves do not greatly value, since it runs counter to three at least of the national characteristics which have been indicated above, the practical, the formal, and the social habits of life ; but I confidently believe that, once the Christian ideal has been fully grasped, there will be a strong response to it from this side of Chinese character.

7. *Summary.*—Whether the presentation of the facts concerning Chinese character which has been given is a true one can be readily verified by a comparison with things as they now are in Christian mission-work, which is the beginning of Chinese Christianity. It is a significant fact that our Chinese Christians are little interested in the intellectual bearings of religion, that in the last century there has not been produced by a Chinese Christian a single work which is of conspicuous merit as a defence of Christianity or an exposition of its principles, though there exist many tracts which treat of separate points of doctrine or expound some of the moral teachings of our religion. That points surely to the workings of the practical mind and indicates a defect. We all recognise the moral qualities of the Chinese Christians in spite of all that has been said of untrustworthy ones, and gladly acknowledge how steadfast they have been under persecution even unto



death. Their inclination towards union and combination is too well-marked in every way to escape observation.

The views here presented are the result of reading and experience during a period of nearly twenty-five years, but owing to the limits of a paper of this kind, no attempt has been made to compare the conclusions with those of others or to fortify them by quotations from Chinese authors. But if I am right in the main in this sketch of Chinese character and in the estimate of the probable effects upon Christianity when it shall become the prevailing religion, the type which Christianity will present will be as unlike as possible to either Judaic or Greek Christianity, but will have a good deal in common with Latin Christianity in its regard for law and custom, and also with English Christianity in its common-sense and hold on every-day life, and in a certain tendency to compromises in the region of theology. It is certain to be a hardy and lasting type and to have a large part to play in the world.

It would be interesting to follow out the subject from another point of view and to deal with what is, after all, the larger part of the question, the influence of Christianity upon Chinese character, and to show how it will be modified by religion and purified, strengthened and perfected by the silent and steady influence of Christian ideals. But we can leave this part of the subject untouched with the less regret because it is not so much a matter of interesting speculation as to what may come to pass in the future as a matter of direct observation of what is going on under our own eyes. All missionaries are witnesses of the wonderful way in which God's grace regenerates and transforms the lives of Chinese Christians, and the effects which Christianity works in individuals are the index of what it must accomplish more slowly in the wider field of national life. And so these wonderful forces will go on working, for the most part silently and unperceived, acting and interacting, until Chinese Christianity shall take its full place in that wonderful harmony in which all types are blended, which is gradually being wrought out by what St. Paul calls the manifold, or many-hued, wisdom of God.

F. R. GRAVES  
(Bishop of Shanghai.)

## BARON KANÉKO'S VERDICT ON OCCIDENTAL CHRISTIANITY.<sup>1</sup>

BARON KANÉKO'S dictum, that "in religion and morals she (Japan) has nothing to learn from the West," has sorely disquieted many friends of Japan and of Christian missions in England and America. Possibly some of his hosts feel aggrieved at their late guest. His verdict seems almost like a personal thrust. "Have we fallen so low, or has Japan risen so high?" asks a Massachusetts pastor who, long admiring the islanders, is shocked at their conceit. To him, this outstanding trait of the Japanese—quite equal to that of the Britain or American—comes as a revelation. Is it a case of "diamond cut diamond"—hurting one's own exalted egotism?

Baron Kanéko, President of the Japanese "Association of Friends of America" which reared the Perry monument at Kurihama, Harvard University graduate, who has been twice in the Cabinet, and was at one time private emissary of the Mikado in the United States, is now in the Privy Council of the Emperor, and is a special student of politics, finance and learning. He is not an expert in religions, which are many; but he has ever been, as I know, a student of religion, which is one. Nevertheless, his judgment, given after one long stay and four visits in the United States, is irritating to American, yes, and Occidental conceit, and hurtful to our Christian hope. He has the Christ-given might to judge even Christianity by its fruits. Has he done so?

"What! After our friendship, our sympathy during the late war, our loans of dollars on bonds, our millions spent

<sup>1</sup> In an article in the *Kyoikukai*, in relation to the policy of Japan in education, and condensed for the "Monthly Summary of Japanese Current Literature," in the Japan Weekly Mail of February 24, 1906, but originally written, in all probability, early last autumn.

since 1859 for education through missionaries in Japan," says the Englishman ; " what ! after our Perry, Harris, and diplomatists from Pruyn to Griscom, and our thousand or so of American teachers, our Shimonoséki indemnity returned, our impending adoption of ' jiu-jitsu,' and flattery of us—given in its sincerest form—imitation, is our religion to be rejected as below par with the Japanese product ? Has it come to this ? "

No, it has not come. It always was. Baron Kanéko, in the same article, " is an advocate of teaching Chinese in this country (Japan) as much even as English is taught." As the average Chinese gentleman still thinks that we Occidentals are good blacksmiths and machinist, able to build railways and steamers, but (in their eyes) knowing next to nothing of courtesy, ethics, justice, or genuine religion, so in their heart have thought the Japanese. What boots it, the samurai's smile and politeness to our face, and his imitation or appropriation of our inventions—whereat we jump to some amazing conclusions, thinking " the Japs," as we most rudely and superciliously call them, will adopt Christianity, and even our tradition of it at once ?

" Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither does his heart think so ; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off " from that variegated assortment of things British, Yankee and freakish, intermingled in a historic conglomeration labelled " Christianity " things " not a few."

For, have the Japanese no religion ? No morals ? Are not religions to be counted by hundreds, while religion is one, and a pound a pound all the world round ? Are not mercy and justice, and walking humbly with God, in all ages one and the same ? Is not religion pure and undefiled this—to visit the widows and the fatherless in their affliction, and to keep unspotted from the world ? Have English-speaking Christians, to say nothing of Russians or Spaniards done this shiningly ? Not all the wrappings of racial prejudice or traditionalism can nullify the definition of religion as given by prophet and apostle. Is not Kanéko orthodox in his demand ?

What care the intellectual and proud-spirited Japanese for the mere European tradition of Christianity—pretty

much the only tradition of it which even our wise men know or value? As multitudinous as the skins of an onion, and smelling rank to them, is that Yankee or British variegated freakishness which in such large measure purports to be Christianity. Is the verdict of Baron Kanéko, a son of man, after all any different from that of the Son of Man, were He to appear among us?

Let me open a leaf or two from history and memory. Perhaps these may explain the verdict. I, too, must take my medicine, for Nobushigé Aménomori — Lafcadio Hearn's "An Oriental Conservative," to whom also he dedicates one of his books—was my pupil in Fukui, as Kanéko was in Tokio. Let us see why Kanéko was impressed, as Aménomori was, even while we note how feelings shape judgments, in man as in woman, whether we are conscious of it or not. Neither martyr in the ruby crown, nor holy saint, nor gigantic intellect, nor rogue feeling the halter draw can deny that while "hearing is seeing, feeling is the naked truth." One's smart is very apt to find expression in his opinions.

Kentaro Kanéko first saw the light in the Perry year, 1853, where the valor of Nippon in the thirteenth, and the science of Japan in the twentieth century, delivered the Mongol Armada and the Russian fleet to Riujo, the King under the waves. At Harvard University in 1878, though not a severe sedentary student like Baron Komura (my pupil in Tokio, at the Imperial University, during three years), Kanéko saw much of the world in Boston—Christlike and otherwise. He could not help noting also the selfishness, savagery, and total depravity which mask themselves under "Christianity." So he thought his own thoughts. He was an intense admirer of many things American, as he was of things English when visiting London, but not all.

During his last visit to America in 1904, he saw the mask wholly off. If much knowledge increaseth sorrow, or if learning be disease, then Kanéko was acquainted with grief as never before. Bones were then broken which have not yet rejoined.

Great Lincoln, in the nation's hour of trial, yearned for the sympathy of our British brothers. To "strengthen

the wavering line" of our kin beyond the sea, he sent Beecher and an Archbishop to plead our cause. So Mutsuhito—that superb personality behind the Unchanging Throne—despatched three of his splendid young men, penmen, speakers, financiers; Suyématsu, of varied culture and tongues, to Europe, Kanéko to America, and Takahashi (once kidnapped by an American rascal, and sold as a bond servant in California, but recovered to freedom), to both continents. I knew these all as lads in Japan. Alas! as I heard him say, Kanéko wrongly believed that this kidnapping and slave-driving business had been carried on, or at least connived at, by American missionaries. I withstood him to his face, and branded the report as a falsehood. I asserted that it was American missionaries who exposed the true nature of the traffic.

In 1904, Japan, traditionally pagan, was involved in war for life and food with a traditionally Christian nation. On arriving in New York, Baron Kanéko gave a dinner, April 25, 1904, at the Holland House. I came down from Ithaca to Gotham to attend it. I knew there was more in it than a free lunch.

In results, it was as with the wedding of the King's son. The men of the by-ways and hedges partook of the real feast, which came later, in the luxury of doing good. The great guests were present in the flesh, but at heart absent. That dinner stands in my mind as a colossal test of "the morals and religion of the West." To Kanéko it was a dire revelation.

Why?

I sat on the Western side of the gorgeous spread and very near mine host. On the opposite side, a half-billion dollars were incarnated. I asked my next seat-neighbour, a walking Dunn, Lloyd and Bradshaw for Manhattan, Tokio, or Shanghai, concerning the true inwardness of the repast. Why the food and company? "Nothing else, I am sure," answered he, "than to get these men of wealth to lead in forming a fund to aid the Japanese widows and orphans during the war." Nevertheless, Kanéko asked or hinted nothing.

In Tokio, the "Commodore Perry Memorial Fund" had been initiated at a meeting in which leading Japanese

statesmen invited to it acknowledged gratefully the educational and missionary aid of Americans. Vast results were hoped for from this fund. In the vision of its trans-Pacific American initiators, when the executive responsive organisation in New York should begin work, "a stream of silver a yard deep" was expected to flow steadily to cheer the widows and feed the orphans of the dead soldiers of the Mikado.

But, promise and fulfilment were as Alva's. English and American money did flow later, but it was to buy Japan's bonds at high rates of interest. It was philanthropy yielding four per cent. at good earthly security.

In New York the April dinner was eaten and the wine was drunk, but the bankers waited until they could make, not give money. The "Commodore Perry Memorial Fund" remained a shrivelled gas-bag.

But what of widows and orphans, and the dark days of 1904? And where, after all the flourish of trumpets in Tokio and on Manhattan Island, was the Good Samaritan? There lay the wounded in Manchuria. Japan was not yet the probable victor. At home, old men and women worked in the rice fields, while the young men's red blood fertilised Manchuria. Widows and orphans multiplied, but Port Arthur did not fall. Hospitals filled. The treasury ran low. Would Japan borrow? Yes, she must.

And Americans, as well as British folk, were ready to lend—on good collateral and high interest. But what of the Perry Memorial Fund? Poor Commodore! What fame! Kanéko everywhere, in the dark days of 1904, breasted a strong pro-Russian tide. "The Czar and double-eagle must surely win"—that was the tradition. Often it was the hope, for, was not Russia "Christian"? Meanwhile bleeding Japan, pupil of the Anglo-Saxon nations, fighting for life and food, wondered in pain. Kanéko's heart strings nearly snapped at the weight of war woe at home. Of her slender stock of battle ships, Japan had lost two, and many a noble warship by Russian mines. *Beri-beri* was desolating Oyama's army. Port Arthur's trenches were blood-soaked. But what was Protestant America doing for the people she expected to convert? Back in New York, from meeting, in November conclave,

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE EDUCATED HINDU MIND TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY.

It is difficult to overrate the importance of the attitude of the educated Hindu mind towards Christianity. It is important alike for the Church and the State. It is important for the Church, because although it is true that the Church has frequently at the first been built up among the poor and the ignorant of a country, at a later stage there must be gathered in for the enriching and the development of the Church the learned and the intelligent. The Holy Spirit could so work through the uncultured fisherman St. Peter, that thousands were converted as he preached; but it needed the consecrated intellect of St. Paul to steer the early Church through her perplexities, and to mark out the lines on which the Church should develop. In India to-day "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" have been called; and while we rejoice that God has thus again taught the lesson "that no flesh should glory before Him," we look forward to the day when He will make use of the intellect, the wisdom, the meditation of the Brahmins, for the enrichment of His Church and for the elucidation of His hidden mysteries.

It is important for the State, because on the attitude of the educated Hindus to Christianity largely depends their attitude towards the State, and on their final attitude towards Christianity depend the ultimate relations between Great Britain and India.

The attitude of the Hindu mind to Christianity may be said to involve two antitheses. (1) They are the most tolerant and the most intolerant of peoples. (2) They have a strong admiration for the person of Jesus Christ, and an equally strong unwillingness to admit His supreme claims.

(1) *Tolerance and Intolerance*.—Everyone who has any acquaintance with the Hindus understands what is meant

when it is said that they are at once tolerant and intolerant. Their mental attitude is one of remarkable tolerance ; they are delighted to discuss and are ready even to admire and mentally adopt new religious truths ; they allow to each individual thinker the utmost freedom of thought. On the other hand they are utterly intolerant in practice ; they will not permit any one of their number to exercise liberty of conscience in carrying out the precepts of the creed in which he has come to believe in any matter which affects that body of external, social, and religious rules which are comprised in caste ; no measures too strong can be found to compel such a free thinker to remain enslaved to the customs of society. The writer was once present in the house of a Brahmin lad who wished to be baptized ; his mother shrieked out in an agony of grief and anger, " I don't care what he believes, I don't care what he worships. He may worship that pot, he may call that pot God if he likes, but why should he dishonour the family ? Why should he break his caste ? " And six months of rigorous imprisonment under lock and key in his own house was the means brought to curb this young free thinker and prevent him following his conscience.

*Why are they so tolerant ?*—There are three reasons for this spirit of mental tolerance in the Hindus. The first is their love of abstract thought and religious speculation. There is no difficulty, as there is in European countries, in speaking to a Hindu about religion—he prefers a religious discussion to any other form of mental recreation. The more complex and philosophic the theme the more he appreciates it. Naturally, therefore, he takes pleasure in the study of Christianity, and is ready to give a patient and appreciative hearing to those who bring these new conceptions to his mind.

The second reason is a lack of the logical faculty and of the historic sense. With all their love of argument they are not naturally a logical people. An illustration has to them the force of a syllogism, and a logical contradiction does not necessarily involve a mental contradiction. To their minds it appears quite possible that God can both be and not be, that He can be both personal and impersonal, the source of nothing but good, and the source of evil as



well as good. This lack of logic makes them tolerant of assertions which would otherwise cut across their own mental convictions, and create a spirit of antagonism. The same is true of their historical sense. The force of the historical argument, which if it had its weight would overthrow most of their religious tenets, is unfelt by them. To them a fact is equally precious and reliable, whether it be a fact of legend and imagination, or of history. A great deal of serious mental conflict is thus precluded in their case.

The third is their lack of strong principles. Unlike the Mohammedans or the English, the Hindus are not dominated by intense religious convictions, which are dearer to them than death, and the attacking of which would cause them pain and rouse their hostility. When we engage in street-preaching in India, we notice that while a Hindu may often interrupt and argue for the sake of interruption or of argument, it is a very rare thing to find him arguing hotly and angrily about some point which has touched a cherished conviction. Such opponents one does meet, but they are invariably Mohammedans. This absence of strong principles makes the Hindu peculiarly placid in religious discussions; it is not a matter of vital importance to him that his side should triumph, and so he is calm and tolerant.

*Why are they so intolerant?*—Three causes seem to lie at the root of much of that bitter intolerance which we notice in the Hindu, when religious conviction passes from thought to action.

The first is their attachment to the caste system. In absence of a definite creed and of strong religious convictions, their caste system is to them their religion. They believe it to be of Divine origin, they cling to it with the conservatism of the heart, and with the pious fervour which sees in it the bulwark of their religion, of their social framework and of their nationality. To disobey the laws of caste is to be traitor to Church and country alike, to bring suffering and dishonour to one's family, to disenfranchise oneself socially and religiously, and to ruin one's soul for life and eternity, besides depriving the ancestors of four generations of happiness in the world beyond.

The second is a false element in their recently awakened patriotism which clings to everything Hindu as a national possession, and is unwilling to give up even harmful customs, if they are old. This false element in their patriotism makes them regard as unpatriotic the man who abandons Hinduism for what they consider a foreign religion.

The third reason is the wide-spread ignorance both about Christianity and about Hinduism. The Government schools and colleges give no facility to their students for learning anything of any system of religion. Misconceptions as to Christianity—its origin, its historicity, its beliefs, its practices—are wide-spread, and sceptic and rationalistic works attacking Christianity are largely read, while books on the other side are carefully eschewed. Even more lamentable is the ignorance of the history and significance of Hinduism. How often are we missionaries told, after having for years unfolded the beauty of the faith of Christ before a young mind, "Your religion seems beautiful and true; but then I am in no position to judge it as I do not know Hinduism. I must wait till I have made a study of the religions of my country, before deciding which is better." And this ignorance makes them fancy that in their sacred books they would find a far higher morality, a far more beautiful teaching, and a far diviner revelation than in the Bible. It is to be wished that more of them would read their own sacred books, and, calmly without prejudice, compare them with the Bible.

(2) *Acceptance and rejection of Christ.*—The second antithesis is, that they admire intensely the character and person of Christ, and yet are quite unwilling to accept His claims. The Hindu mind springs almost instinctively to a deep admiration for Christ: His character is more readily understood by easterns than by westerns, and there is more natural reverence and devotion among the former than the latter.

*Appreciation of the meekness of Christ.*—When Christ is presented to an English lad he nearly always feels, even though he may never give expression to the thought, that there is something "unmanly" in the meek and gentle Jesus: His submissive, unvengeful conduct contradicts

that ideal of manliness which the national temperament of England has produced, and it generally takes some time before an Englishman comes to see that it is higher courage and more godlike "manliness" to have all power at one's disposal, and in love and pity to refrain from using it. But the gentle Hindu responds at once to this side of the Saviour's character, and his heartfelt devotion and admiration go out to One "Who was despised and rejected of men," "Who gave His back to the smiters, and His cheeks to them that plucked off the hair ; Who hid not His face from shame and spitting."

*Insight into the teaching of Christ.*—This admiration for Christ is coupled with a still more intense unwillingness to admit His absolute claim to be God incarnate, the one and the only Saviour of mankind, the head of the human race. The Hindu regards Him as one of many—perhaps the best and greatest—but only one of many holy ones through whom God spoke, one of many Saviours by whom the world is saved, one of many incarnations of the Supreme God. Then again the deeply religious and meditative nature of the Hindu makes him penetrate with far deeper insight into our Lord's teaching. The gospel of St. John is his favourite gospel, and he brings to the esoteric teaching of the master a mind prepared by centuries of profound thought and meditation. There is no rejection of religion as religion among the Hindus.

This attitude is to be explained by the dull conscience of the Hindu. He has never felt sin intensely, nor has his early training or his religion given him any sense of sin. Religion is for him divorced from morality, and the most wide-spread idea of sin is that it is the neglecting of outward ordinances. Sinful ideals are put before the young minds in the stories of their gods, and unhallowed lust is sheltered under the cloak of religion in the very temples themselves. The fatalistic conception that all they do has been preordained, as the result of acts performed in previous births, tends to sap the feeling of responsibility which is one of the natural bulwarks against sin. Consequently the Saviour's claim to forgive sin, to save from sins, to be the sacrifice for sins, to be the source of regenerate existence  
 r the sinner, is unheeded by the Hindu. To him salva-

tion is absorption—release from all actions good and evil—and that our Lord does not offer them.

*Pantheistic bias.*—A further cause which makes it hard for the Hindus to accept Christ's unique claims is the pantheistic bias of their mind. The claim of Christ to be God involves the notion of a personal God transcending, even though immanent in creation. But the current philosophical thought in India has for many centuries set in an opposite direction, and the idea of a personal God is alien to the mind (thought not to the heart) of the Hindus. Hence the most they are prepared to admit in regard to Christ's claims to be God is that He was in a more complete sense filled with God—Who fills all things—than other men are. All are the sons of God, all are incarnations of God. Jesus Christ was only in a fuller degree what all others are.

*Lack of moral courage.*—Yet another reason why the Hindu does not accept Christ and obey Him is his moral cowardice. Reference has been made to the fire of persecution through which any young man of good caste has to pass if he would become a Christian. It requires a hero's heart and a martyr's courage to meet that ordeal. Probably it is the most severe test that has ever been put before any nation. And is it not tragic that the men before whom it is put should be the men who by nature, by environment, by climate, by heredity, by family traditions, are the least fitted to act for themselves, to stand up for their own personal rights, and to defy the tyranny and the opposition of men?

We who have worked among them know how weak their moral courage is; we know how many there are who are deeply convinced of the truth of Christ, who long to be His disciples, who feel that their own salvation and that of others depends upon their following their conscience; and who yet have not the courage to stand up against their families, their friends, their caste-brethren.

*The outlook is hopeful.*—As we consider the attitude of the educated Hindus of India to Christianity, we are justified in drawing the conclusion that the outlook is hopeful. The Hindus are naturally attracted to Christianity, and those elements in their nature and environment

which keep them back from accepting it are those which are slowly but surely changing under the influence of Western civilisation and Christian effort. The caste system is slowly relaxing its iron laws, the false element in the awakening patriotism will vanish as knowledge dispels misconception, the ignorance about their own religion and Christianity is decreasing with the spread of education, the national conscience is being trained from day to day, and the standard of morality is rising among the educated classes ; the Pantheism of the East is being profoundly modified by the intense belief in personality imported by the West, and contact with the independent, sturdy and courageous Englishman is gradually producing moral courage and self-reliance among the Hindus. Some of these changes are going on, it is true, very gradually ; but there are three strong currents affecting Hindu life so powerfully to-day that one can easily measure the results after the lapse of even a few years. I refer to the disintegration of caste under the pressure of modern conditions ; the earnest desire to reform what is clearly corrupt and debasing in popular Hinduism, and to evolve a pure and noble type of the popular religion, and the growing patriotism which turns its attention more and more to the needs and possibilities of the fatherland (or as the more tender Indian phrase has it, "the motherland"), and calls on India's sons to make India great and prosperous.

These movements are indirectly favourable to Christianity, though for the time being the latter two may appear openly hostile. All efforts after a purer and higher form of Hinduism must in the long run lead the people to the final and ultimate satisfaction of the human race in Christ. If Hinduism seriously reforms and purifies itself, it will develop either into agnosticism or atheism on the one hand, or Christianity on the other ; and we cannot imagine that the religious mind of India would long remain content with the former alternative. The national spirit may at times express itself in disloyalty and excesses ; it is certain to be largely mixed up with ignorance and pride, and to fall in consequence into mischievous errors ; but it is a movement and an impulse which should have our sympathy as being the first response on the part of the people to that

call to independence of action and character, to self-reliance and self-development, which we English have given to the people of this great country. We have sown the seeds of liberty and manliness by training the best of India's sons for a share in the government of the country ; we should rejoice therefore to see the first signs of the coming harvest, and should guide, direct and purify this new spirit of patriotism, which the example of Japan has so rapidly evoked in the heart of the progressive section of India's population. The misconception which is abroad as to English motives, methods, and acts of administration ; the haze which floats before their eyes of a golden age of India in the past, the ignorance which exists as to the wonderful work which England has done for India and the marvellous advance India has made in every respect under British rule—these are things which our schools and colleges should labour to remove from the minds of the growing generation, for it is on these misconceptions that the disloyalty to the Empire and the bitterness of race feeling thrive. India can never advance without patriotism, but the patriotism must be broadened and deepened by the spirit of truth, and then it will be one of the best allies Christianity can have.

*A forward missionary policy.*—In the light of this survey of the attitude of the educated Hindus towards Christianity, what should be the policy of the Church of Christ ? Let us first state what its past policy has been. The missions have occupied themselves with increasing energy in the higher education of India. They have covered the land with schools and colleges, spent great sums of money, and set apart for the work a number of their most able men. In all these institutions they have given daily instruction to every student in the Bible, and have brought much Christian influence to bear on the youths committed to their care. The present attitude of the Hindu mind towards Christ, and the great leavening of the educated thought of the land with Christian ideas, are the outcome of these efforts.

But if there were to be a spiritual “educational commission” to visit our mission schools and colleges, and to inquire from the Christian native teachers, and even from

the missionaries themselves, how many lads had been spoken to personally, how many prayed for personally, what attention and preparation had been made to understand the religious thought of the people—would not the finding of such a commission be a cause of shame and humiliation to Christ's people?

In our schools and colleges we occupy a splendid strategic position; we command at present the greater part of the Hindu educated world; but we are bringing nothing better than field-glasses to bear on the battle-field, and our cannons rust at our feet unused!

The two chief hindrances to a more vigorous campaign are—(a) the unworthy fear lest we should lose pupils, or ruin our schools and colleges, by a too forward missionary policy. This is an unworthy fear for a soldier of the cross; nor is it justified by the experience which is available. If we are not going to try definitely to convert souls to Christ in our schools and colleges, then in God's name let us give them up; if by trying to convert souls we are to lose our schools, let us lose them; if it is not God's will to honour this means of converting the heathen to Himself, He will open up for us other and more effective means.

(b) The second hindrance is the fact that the educational missionaries are over-burdened by the secular side of their work, and their best time and energies go to it and not to spiritual work. Personal effort—visiting, interviewing, teaching, preparation of religious addresses, study of Hinduism and of the ancient literature of India, above all, prevailing intercession—these things are given a second place, or get altogether crowded out.

The way out of this difficulty is to increase the staff of educational missionaries, to be ready to spend more money and to give more men to this work, and, if it could be done, to found an Oriental missionary training college at home, where, before he leaves England and meets with the inevitable pressure of the work abroad, the educational missionary might break the back of Sanskrit study, and lay a foundation of knowledge of Indian religious thought under Oriental teachers.

I plead for a closer touch with the student world; for more men who will be willing for Christ's sake and for the

love of souls to remain unmarried and live with the students in hostels, or in the centres of student population in the great cities. It is only by personal touch that men can be won for Christ, and there has been far too little of this in the past.

Are we not impelled to such a course by a consideration alike of the dangers which threaten us if we neglect, and the glorious hopes which open out before us if we are faithful? It has been said that the mission schools have been the salvation of India, in the sense that they have supplied that religious and moral teaching, that building up of character which the Government schools, owing to their religious neutrality, could not give. The inevitable result of civilisation and education without religion is the speedy annihilation of the religious motive, without which morality itself cannot survive. But if the mission schools have done a noble work in the past, they have a still greater work to do. The educated section of the nation is awakening, and education itself is spreading rapidly; soon the whole nation will be awakened and anxious to take its place in the march of civilisation. Can any one in this assembly look with equanimity at the idea of an India awakened and equipped with all the forces which civilisation gives, without any sure and guiding principles of religion to enable it to use these new powers justly, humanely, and righteously? Surely now, if ever, we are called upon to avert a great national disaster, and if we fail now, India itself will condemn us in the generations to come, and before the Judgment Throne of God.

It may or may not be given us to lead to Christ in a great mass movement the educated classes of India, and to present to our Lord the consecrated intellect and understanding of this great land of philosophy and religion; but will it not be worth all the efforts we may make, all the money we may spend, all the lives we may dedicate, if there be raised up for India but one great Apostle and leader of the Indian Church—an Indian St. Paul or an Indian Athanasius?

“The vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.”

H. PAKENHAM-WALSH.



## THE JUNIOR CLERGY MISSIONARY ASSOCIATIONS.

### A PLEA FOR DEVELOPMENT.

THE value of criticism lies in goodwill, and this article is frankly a criticism. It is also a criticism with an object, positive and progressive. Therefore it tails off into suggestion. The criticism may be unjust and the suggestion injudicious ; but the goodwill persists.

The J.C.M.A. has had ideals. So have all of us. Mostly they have remained ideals for us ; but J.C.M.A. has *done* something with them. Its initiation was a positive step in the right direction. It began to kill missionary sentimentalism, and aimed the death-blow at mere arm-chair enthusiasm. Clergy, and particularly young clergy, whose notions of missionary work and missionary needs were of the vaguest, set themselves painfully and seriously to study the missionary problem. The attempt was an heroic one. There is no truer test of reality than this sort of drudgery. Naturally they gained immensely from their study ; naturally the problem became nearer of solution. But the circumstances have changed. In fact, the J.C.M.A. itself has changed them. A reconstruction is needed. In the cycle of progress yesterday's advance is only a snare to danger, unless new operations over a wider field and bolder tactics are vigorously prosecuted. The time for study and study only is past.

A few shillings spent upon missionary literature and a like number of hours bestowed upon it will do in one day what the promoters of the J.C.M.A. proposed as the purpose of their institution. I repeat, the credit very largely belongs to them for this. The J.C.M.A. gave the stimulus. They, indeed, have had the *key of knowledge* in their hands. Perhaps they have it still. If it be really so, its possession involves a great responsibility.

To-day we thank God that the mission field calls for labourers more than ever. But, alas! splendid vantage posts are being lost for lack of men, glorious victories are being annulled for lack of men. The fields are white to harvest, and the Lord may not reap for lack of men. It is the same weary cry all around—Where are the men?

What answer does the J.C.M.A., with its five and a half thousand priest members, give to it? Only this, apparently: Patience. We are studying; we are telling our people of the needs of the mission field. Of course, we are not ready to go ourselves—yet; but we never professed to volunteer. It is an appalling and exasperating situation. The patient is perishing. Everybody knows it, doctors most of all—and they are poring over their books and lecturing to their students with a smug satisfaction, indignantly professing themselves alive to the horrible danger, and literally doing nothing, except advising some less qualified persons to consider the propriety of going to the rescue instead of them. Poor patient! Poor mission field!

This is no exaggeration. We have reached a perplexing *impasse*. There must be some way out for Christian men.

Here are some figures from the last Advent report of the J.C.M.A.

There were then 5,524 members—nearly all young priests. That means that practically all the clergy who are, humanly speaking, available are absorbed by this organisation. These are the men with health and strength, these are the men who have least home ties and obvious home duties; these are the men to whom we look for enthusiasm; these are the men whose study of the problem has made them most alive to its imperative call—and of these fifty-six went abroad. *That is, roughly, one per cent.*

What does it mean?

There is no possible doubt about the object of the J.C.M.A. These are its own words:

“The primary purpose of the Federation of the J.C.M.A. is to deepen and develop in its members, and through them, in the whole Church at home, such a spirit of missionary service as shall yield a fuller supply of workers to cope with the needs of the Church abroad.”

Are we to conclude that study is an uninspiring method, or that the J.C.M.A. as a whole does not study, or that somehow or other the J.C.M.A. has to-day got hold of the wrong end of the stick?

The J.C.M.A. members have personally made the thinnest possible use of their study as far as they go. If you urge that the J.C.M.A. has been the direct means of moving many outside its own circle of members to try their vocation in the mission field, what a poignant and self-condemning irony it is! Is the J.C.M.A. really going to be content to be dubbed—as it has actually been dubbed in a bitter moment—a society for getting others to go out, while its loudest voiced and most insistent members remain quietly at home?

How many a thoughtful layman has been confirmed in his dislike of foreign missions and distrust in their methods by being compelled, willy nilly, to endure the perfervid exhortations of some young priest as the missionary sermon came round!

The type is increasingly common. There is drawn first of all the woeful need of the mission field (which the layman is never inclined to believe, as he uses the eyes in his head); there are recounted its splendid sacrifices and successes; there is confidently proclaimed the insistent command of the Lord; there is a glowing peroration, with its invitation for the very best to volunteer—and the young priest goes back to his cigarette, having done his whole duty!

*"Woe unto you"*—it is wonderful that he does not hear the burning words—*"for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered."*

What is the use of all this conference, we ask despairingly—what is the use of the talk and the study, if the work is not being done?

Study—all study—has only one worthy object. The J.C.M.A. itself admits this. It is the preliminary to action. The inevitable danger to the cause lies in this, that study and no more should satisfy the conscience and so far drug enthusiasm that a young priest can actually persuade himself that a quarterly attendance at a J.C.M.A.

meeting—for which he has not in the least prepared himself—fulfils his whole duty to missions. The J.C.M.A. must open its eyes to its present position and recognise that it is stultifying its whole *raison d'être* if it does not move on and make this impossible.

This criticism aims at awakening it from its “dogmatic slumbers.” It only needs a pin-prick to arouse the sleeper. May this pin-prick do that, and inflict no further pain than any other would.

But there is a more serious count, if the J.C.M.A. is to be a real living force and not a mere paper organisation. The report already quoted throws very grave doubt upon the value of what study the J.C.M.A. does pursue.

Here are the figures once more.

There are 5,524 members, which gives an increase of 158 during the year. It is this huge membership that makes it worth while to criticise at all. The average attendance—as far as it can be ascertained at all meetings—is 1,199, which means that four-fifths of the members habitually stay away. Moreover, with a humour all its own, the report contains points of special interest in the returns from associations. There are fifty-seven of these in all, and more than twenty have complaints of slackness, ill-attendance, lack of interest, and suchlike.

Is this the reason? The writer has vivid recollections of certain J.C.M.A. meetings. The attendance, though the association had a pretentious nominal roll, was never more than thin; the papers read were usually second-hand (possibly an inevitable feature), culled from missionary literature by men who had never been abroad, and apparently never intended to go; the discussion was ill-informed and desultory. The only inspiration was tea and a pipe, with clerical gossip afterwards—an unpardonable waste of time in the sacred name of mission work.

Probably this is not typical; certainly it is not true of some associations. It is really monstrous that it should be true of any. But if it is true of one, of how many others is it equally true?

It were, however, graceless and ungenerous to stop here. Negative criticism is comparatively cheap. This criticism is a frank acknowledgment that the J.C.M.A. has

played an important part—perhaps a unique part—in the undoubted missionary awakening throughout the Church; and thus it proceeds to suggest that it should itself awaken now to the new conditions, which, to its abiding honour, it has largely helped to create.

Three developments seem relevant.

First of all, the J.C.M.A., on its own showing, needs the most stringent revision of its associations and members. With the unfaltering courage of true kindness and high purpose, it should make it an immediate duty to erase the names of at the very least half its members, and unhesitatingly close its most supine associations. That would set it above suspicion, however humiliating or unpleasant the course might be; and the J.C.M.A. needs to regain our confidence, if it is to be true to itself and to remain a living inspiration to the evangelisation of the world.

Then it needs to impress a greatly increased obligation upon all its members. There must be no more playing at being missionaries. At present to do one's missionary duty costs about half a crown a year and possibly one sermon—an outlay as cheap as it is futile. Let the J.C.M.A. boldly increase its subscription for the honour of helping the Lord to redeem the world fivefold, or tenfold, and devote the surplus to approved missionary objects—*e.g.* the candidates' fund for poorer brethren seems appropriate. This tiny reform would eliminate fifty per cent. of the slackers right off.

Then let it add a personal obligation to service abroad, as the Student Volunteer Missionary Union does. This would indubitably increase its effectiveness and reality—and above all appeal to the laity, who not unnaturally prefer sermons from men who mean what they say. This is by no means a reversal of its original foundation, but the natural and logical development which would attest the success of its original promotion.

Probably this would eliminate another twenty-five per cent. of the lukewarm, and then J.C.M.A., with twelve times the original twelve, would begin to turn the world upside down for Christ and be counted by the angels as a real missionary force.

Lastly, let the J.C.M.A. develop new points of attack.

Let it leave its poor mission-sick congregations to a holiday for a while, and devote its energies to the most neglected duty of all.

Let it apply itself strenuously, prayerfully and intelligently to ordination candidates at university and theological college, and there set before the men who are going to take the full yoke of Christ upon them the grave consideration as to where in the Holy Catholic Church they are indeed called by the Spirit of God.

We shall have to give up the dear old distinction between work at home and abroad. It is a definition as false as it is clear cut.

The Catholic Church is one—as much *at home* in the South Sea Islands as in London. Then the J.C.M.A. will no longer rest content with sending the artisans and the nurses from among the extra devout of the parish to the mission field ; they will perhaps go themselves ; and at the least every priest will have to face the call before he has pledged himself to an English parish. So will the very best go to the work, and the J.C.M.A. will have helped to send them.

That is your campaign, J.C.M.A. Awake to it, and God be with you. You go forward to victory.

EDGAR ROGERS.

## PAGANISM, HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

THERE is no disguising the bare fact that India does not interest England. India with an area equal to Europe exclusive of Russia, with her one hundred and forty-seven distinct languages, and a teeming population which embraces three-fourths of His Majesty's subjects ; India with her wealth of ancient history and her marvel of modern administration ; India with her gorgeous pomp and quaint customs as seen like kaleidoscopic views during the progress of a royal visit ; much more India with her Budget, when she comes officially before the half-empty benches of the House of Commons, fails to appeal to the ears of the average Englishman. A controversy like the Curzon-Kitchener one, or a storm in a tea-pot like the Bengali agitation, may rouse in him a momentary interest ; but India, as a whole, is uninteresting. There have always, it is true, been a limited number of scholars who have loved to ramble in the boundless fields of India's literature and to revel in her complex half-religious, half-philosophic speculations ; one may also be right in saying that there are a daily increasing number of English men and women who are interested in India's missionary problem—a problem more vast and intricate than any other of its kind that the world has hitherto seen. It is for this latter class that this attempt is made to throw some side-lights on one or two features of this great problem. Not even one who has spent his whole working life in the country can hope to get a firm grasp of that problem in its entirety or anything approaching entirety ; but partial glimpses may be given, and these may be not entirely devoid of use and interest to the reader who is in sympathy with the work of Missions.

There are two common misapprehensions which must

be removed. First, the prevailing religion of India is not Hinduism in the sense that the scholars and authors who write on religion would lead us to infer, but an older and more world-wide type of paganism, or rather a strange blend of the latter with Hinduism proper. Secondly, India is not a country of large cities, of flourishing towns, of seats of learning or even of show-places, as the tourists and writers on India might lead us to imagine; but it is a congeries of innumerable villages, almost untouched by the railway system, and occupied by millions of peasants only partially civilised and almost wholly illiterate. Neither of these remarks, and especially the former, may be allowed to pass unchallenged without a few words of explanation. Taking them in order, then, every student of Sir Monier Williams' books is aware that what we call Hinduism is really tripartite. It began as Vedism, the worship of Indra, Varuna, Agni and the other powers of Nature; this then developed into Brāhmanism with its sacrificial system, elaborate ceremonial code, and caste enthrallment; and this again, after the clash and struggle with the mighty movement of Buddhism, was forced as the resultant of two conflicting forces along the new line of modern Hinduism. The fierceness of that struggle, and the bitterness of the persecution that followed the strife of tongues when Brahman met Buddhist in a death-like grip, may be witnessed to this day. Hindus are apt to boast that they have never persecuted, but the gruesome paintings still extant on the walls of the Madura temple of Hindus hacking Buddhists to pieces, while dogs lick up the blood of martyrs who are being impaled and otherwise tortured, belie that boast. Yet how often have the poet's words been verified in history, *Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit!* Buddhism was literally stamped out of South India;<sup>1</sup> but Brāhmanism was compelled even in the hour of its victory to abandon much of its stiff ceremonialism, to check the stream of its sacrificial blood, to relax its barbarous laws for the enforcement of caste observance, and at

<sup>1</sup> A few images of the placid Buddha, seated with folded hands and with features wrapt in meditation, may be seen still in unexpected places, but the ignorant villagers either ignore their existence or else give them the names of Hindu gods.



the same time to absorb into itself much of the vitalising and humanising influence of the vanquished Goutama. But the Brahmans, who were originally as much foreigners and members of the Indo-European family as ourselves, were not only engaged in repelling their religious enemies by debate and death, but were busy in spreading the propaganda of Hinduism broadcast over the land. Nor did they find that land unoccupied. Far from it. India was a religious country long before the first Aryan invaded it. Totemism with its sacrifice of the totem animal and pouring out of its life blood, by which man was made at one with his totem god ; with its blood-bond by which man was united to his fellow man, and with its social feast on the body of the victim slain, which knit them together in one fellowship of amity, prevailed in India as in so many other savage and semi-civilised parts of the world. Coupled with this devil-worship, magic in all its multifarious phases, and a host of kindred superstitions had driven their roots deep down into the hearts and lives of millions of indigenous natives. And the point that I wish to enforce is that those roots remain to this day. Provided that the Brahman itinerating missionary could induce by the force of priestcraft working on a highly superstitious mind the system of caste by which he and his brethren were recognised as God's vicegerents ; and provided that he could prevail upon them to rename their village deities in accordance with the nomenclature of the Hindu pantheon, he was satisfied. When he sowed the new seed he did not dig up the old roots. A nearer approach to, and a fuller acquaintance with Brâhmanism, or its modern descendant Hinduism, might or might not follow, but in any case he felt his mission was complete, and now the religion of the whole land (apart of course from Islam, etc.) is recognised under the general title of "Hinduism." How incomplete that conversion of India was may be seen by any one who looks below the surface. Even the cold weather tourist as he gazes through his carriage window on his first journey from Tuticorin to Madras may wonder what the small blocks of stone, black with grease but tipped with a red spot of *kunkuma*, and surrounded by a number of rude figures of plaster horses and still more grotesque

representations of heroes, warriors and guards, have got to do with the religions of Vishnu and Siva, the philosophy of Sankarâchârya, or the still more sublime teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*. Let him halt on a given day in February at Trichinopoly, and he may see within a stone's throw of the S. P. G. Mission-compound one of the most ghastly sights that can be connected with religion, and at the same time one of the most interesting survivals of ancient paganism which, under the name of Hinduism, has for unknown centuries resisted the influence of that religion. He will see there a low-caste Hindu seated on the shoulders of two attendants, and pretending to drink the blood of from one to two thousand black kids, that are handed up to him by his devotees, struggling and bleeding with a gash across their throats, while he faces a tawdry representation of the goddess Kulumây, who presides over the river dam, after which he will see the bodies taken home to be eaten. He may see, as the present writer has seen, the *pājâri*, or officiant, gulp down a great silver bowl of steaming blood, and turn away in disgust from a sight so horrid. But underlying this and ten thousand similar sacrifices, however repulsive in their details and however ignorant the devotees themselves may be of their significance, the student will detect all the elements of primeval and world-wide totemism. God is being appeased by the life-blood spilt on the earth; man is being united with Him through the death of the animal there slain, and also with his fellow tribesmen in the blood-bond; and communion is being effected by the feast that follows on the body of the sacrificial victim. The resemblance to, and the contrast with, our own most Sacred Rite are startling in the extreme. Let it be noted in passing that every one of the thousands of people who crowd to this festival will call himself a Hindu and will rigidly keep caste—and men of almost all castes will directly or indirectly associate themselves with the ceremonial, and yet the whole sacrifice is not only non-Hindu but is contra-Hindu; for all such sacrifices of blood are as repugnant to Hinduism proper as they would be to Christianity. In the jungle of religious beliefs prevailing in India one may mark off the difference between such a ceremonial as this and the worship of Vishnu, say, in such

an orthodox temple as that of Srirangam, and observe that they are as wide apart as the poles ; but what shall we say of the thousand and one festivals in which the two ideas are involved in such an inextricable tangle as to baffle all hope of unravelment ? For, not only has the indigenous totemism, or Dravidianism, as we may call it, been influenced by Hinduism, and every man, woman and child bound tight in the fetters of caste, but, conversely, Hinduism, as we must for convenience call it, has been profoundly affected by contact with the aboriginal cults. Hinduism is the most elastic, most absorbent, and most conglomerate of all the great religions of the world. In a considerable number of temples, while the totem sacrifice is being performed, within the enclosure, but outside the actual temple itself, the idol is screened with a curtain, or the door of the temple is closed, lest the deity in whose very honour the sacrifice is being offered should see the loathsome sight of shedding blood.<sup>1</sup> Here the two religions stand in evident contradiction to one another, but contradictions and inconsistencies never trouble the mind of the ordinary Hindu. One other point may here be noted lest the present writer should also be accused of similar inconsistency. In every Hindu temple, orthodox or otherwise, there will be found an altar.<sup>2</sup> This is in the shape of a block of stone, a foot or two square and running up for a foot or so in height to the shape of a ring, or of a column abruptly cut off, and so giving a base of from six to nine inches in diameter. Now although the orthodox Hindu of the twentieth century does not know why he has got an altar in his temple or in the courtyard fronting the shrine of his deity, yet sacrifices on a very large scale once formed an important feature of his worship. But, though this cannot be denied, it does not follow that animal sacrifices were ever in accordance with the genius of Hinduism taken in its widest sense. It is not so much that part of the Hindu people have adhered to their

<sup>1</sup> This, of course, may be an illustration of gradual evolution from the Dravidian cult to the more refined Hinduism, or it may be only a survival of the ancient custom after yielding a point to Hinduism in the spirit of compromise.

<sup>2</sup> Of course one is not allowed to enter the sanctum sanctorum of a Hindu temple, but one is permitted sometimes to look through the doorway, and one can always question the Brahman officiants.

sacrificial system while the more enlightened portion have abandoned it, as that the totem-worship has existed from the earliest ages and persisted to the present day, while Bráhmaism was only temporarily affected by it as a passing phase. During the first and third periods animal sacrifices are not found. During the Védic period libations of *soma* juice were offered to the powers of Nature to gain the blessings of the womb and of the field; next, during the Brahmanic period blood was shed to appease the wrath of an offended deity; and lastly, during the period of Hinduism proper, all blood sacrifices were abolished in obedience to the pressure from Buddhism which denounced gruesome rites that had lost their spiritual significance and degenerated into repulsive acts of empty ceremonialism, and of gross cruelty. Throughout all those momentous changes, covering a period of perhaps twenty centuries, totemism has gone on unchanged in its principles and only permanently influenced by one of the features of Hinduism, namely Caste. It was well said by Bishop Sargent, of Tinnevely, that "Caste is Hinduism and Hinduism is caste," for this is the only thread that runs through all the varying forms of faith, Bráhmaism, Hinduism, totemism, devil-worship, magic, superstition, and so forth. This is the common denominator of them all.

Turning now to the consideration of the second point, we observe that the oriental scholar, the historian, and the tourist with his lighter impressions, almost invariably deal with the towns and centres of great movements, and so are apt to lead, though quite unconsciously, the average reader to assume that India like England is covered with large cities and important towns; whereas, as a matter of fact, India is a collection of almost innumerable villages each made up in turn of a number of tiny hamlets corresponding to the different castes. Everyone knows the difference between the peaceful routine of an English village and the strenuous life and grinding toil of a busy manufacturing town. Still, in religion, education and national characteristics the people are one, and the differences are only superficial and differences of degree rather than of kind. In India, however, the India that the District officer and missionary know so well, the distinction is far more emphatically marked.

Looked at from the religious point of view, it must not be assumed that the India of the villages may be inferred from the India of the towns. This is a mistake that too many writers on India make. Even well-known authors, who are taken as authorities on Indian religions, represent to us the villagers as steeped through and through with the philosophies of Sankarâchârya or Râmânujan, and as singing with spiritual fervour the miraculous exploits of the gods described in their two great epics. Such villagers no doubt exist and delight intellectually in such matters as a village cobbler here and there in England may revel in Milton or astronomy, but the great mass of the people know no more of such things, save perhaps as mere songs and entertaining legends, than they do of four dimensions in space. Speaking generally, the high-caste natives of the towns and Brahmin *agrahârams*, or settlements, in the large villages are orthodox worshippers of Vishnu and Siva, while the low-caste inhabitants of the suburbs and of the villages are Dravidians whose religion is a mixture in varying degrees of Hinduism and paganism. The attitude of the latter towards Christianity will be referred to below, and little more than has already been said need be recorded in regard to their religion. In every village will be found one or more shrines built in honour of the *grâma dēvathai*, or village female deities, whose duty it is to keep off cholera, small-pox, and evil spirits generally.<sup>1</sup> Besides the shrines or temples proper may be seen a number of small black stones projecting less than a foot from the ground, and each representing a particular village goddess or a guard to the same, surrounded by demon-faced heroes, and plaster horses and elephants, while spears and tridents are stuck into the ground, strings of small bells are hung from pillars or trees to tinkle in the wind, and earthen pots to hold small lamps are placed so as to face the deities. The *pūjâri*, or officiating minister, daily offers flowers, rice, cocoa-nuts, cakes, etc., and at night lights the small lamps in the pots while reciting certain *mantras*; but the ordinary villager confines his religion to the big annual festival on

<sup>1</sup> Iyenar is the only one of these village deities who is a male. In Hinduism proper the female deities occupy a subordinate position, just as all women do compared with men throughout India.

one or two given days in the year, when he will often lash himself into a frenzy of religious enthusiasm, and for the rest of the year contents himself with putting his joined hands to his forehead when he passes the shrine. It may be worth noticing, by the way, that the native Christians, true to their hereditary instincts, will flock to church, men, women and children, on the greater festivals of the year, or when the Bishop makes a visit, but for the other 360 days will be content to leave a comparatively small minority of their number to go to church and listen to the native pastor expiating on the evils of Sunday labour. Those who do attend church will generally receive the Holy Communion, though too often, it is feared, without preparation or any great heart-searching as to moral lapses, for, true again to their Hindu strain, they see little or no connection between morality and religion. Reverting to the non-Christians, so long as some terrible epidemic or famine does not decimate the village, the apathetic Hindus are content to leave the protection of themselves, their wives, children and cattle, to the particular goddess whose sole *raison d'être* it is to keep off cholera, etc., and to the various heroes whose duty it is to ride round the village on the elephants and horses provided for the purpose and drive off all demons who would otherwise sweep down on the defenceless village. In times of great distress, however, the *pūjāri* will inform the village that the ordinary festival of the year is not sufficient, and that extra sacrifices must be offered to propitiate the offended deities.

The Hindu villager's attitude towards the missionary and native pastor will be touched on below. Suffice it to say here that he has a terribly hard life in struggling to keep the wolf from the door, and he does not trouble himself much about religion. His first desire is to be left alone by the village official, the tax-gatherer, the police, the schoolmaster and the money-lender, as well as by the missionary. His land is unproductive, the rains often fail, his family is generally large, his debts are larger still, and the village *sowcar*, or money-lender, unblushingly demands *monthly* his one, two, or even three per cent! Not that debt distresses him to any great extent, for the greater the debt the higher is he raised above the level of his

neighbours, and hence the sweets of fame compensate for the pressure of the local Shylock. As regards education for its own sake, he cares little or nothing. If money can be made by it, well and good ; or if his son can sit at a desk and copy somebody else's writing instead of ploughing a field or baling water, well and good ; but the pleasure of a cultivated mind, the joys of literature, or the attractions of cheap journalism are less than nothing to both father and son. If one can sit on the mud floor of the verandah and talk gossip, if one can sing a song or tell a tale after the day's toil in the field or on the clerk's stool is over, what more can anyone possibly want ? There is one thing, however, that the Hindu dearly loves besides these simple joys, and that is to take some sort of a case into court. Litigation is the one thing he delights in. When he has engaged a *vakil*, or pleader, to appear for him, has got a bundle of title-deeds, etc., tied up in his cloth, and is able to summon a crowd of witnesses, especially if they are unwilling to appear, then his cup of happiness overflows and he becomes the envy of his less fortunate neighbours. He is greatly excited over the rights and wrongs of the case, and delights to pose as a martyr, but the verdict is to him little more than a piece of luck or of bribery. The spin of a coin would do almost as well. If he wins, well and good ; if not, then there is the further excitement of appealing to a higher court. To do this he will neglect his work for weeks, will mortgage every foot of his land, and sell every stick of furniture in his house. Although far too ignorant to sign his name, he will glibly interlard his conversation with such English words as "hearing," "appeal," and all the other jargon of the courts. The law court is in a word his Epsom and his Monte Carlo rolled into one, and he desires no higher form of excitement than this. When all is gone and the *sowcar* refuses to advance a single rupee more, then he returns to his village to fight his battle over again under the peepul tree, without a trace of regret except it may be for his bad luck, not that he has become a pauper, but that he cannot pursue the gamble up to the highest courts of all.

The Collector, that is the chief representative of Government in the district, is looked upon as a sort of demi-god.

He is the source of all authority and power ; he is the " twice born " dispenser of all earthly benefits, his smallest wish is law ; and the simple villager stands in the greatest awe of him, but at the same time trusts him as " his father and mother " because, although his ways like those of all other English folk are utterly inexplicable, he is known to be just. When one man rules a territory containing from five to ten millions of people, and when, as too often happens, there will be four or five Collectors, owing to the frequent transfers, in a single year, it is idle to talk much of sympathy between ruler and ruled. Besides the Collector there will be half a dozen other District officers, whose duties bring them during their flying visits more or less into contact with the people of the soil. As a matter of fact these Englishmen work almost entirely through large staffs of English-speaking subordinates, mostly Brahmans, who have far less sympathy with the low caste villagers than the average Englishman. One often hears of the bad lives and examples of Englishmen having a retarding effect on Christianity. This may be, and, alas, is so in the garrison and other large towns, but in the villages, where the mass of the people live, almost nothing is known of the private lives of these officials. Moreover the highly educated English gentleman in India is in no way to be distinguished from his brother in England, so we must be careful about throwing stones.

As regards the villager's attitude towards the missionary and Christianity, the first thing that strikes one is his Athenian way of looking at things. The Hindu is of all men the most tolerant up to a certain point, beyond which he is of all men the most intolerant. If the struggle with poverty and famine is too oppressive, he will tell you he has no time or thought for such matters as religion ; but if he is fairly well fed, he will listen with much pleasure to any new doctrine that may be expounded to him. Provided that his idolatry and caste are not too roughly handled, he will argue about all sorts of subtle points, such for instance as the nature of the soul, and the origin of evil, with all the keenness of a philosopher or the pleasure of a chess-player. He will laugh heartily over the discomfiture of his best friend in a tussle with the missionary, and even if



beaten himself will request the latter to come again to his village soon. Thousands will flock to a lantern exhibition and sit on the ground for hours wrapt in attention while the missionary and his catechists conduct them through the whole Bible, from the Garden of Eden to the Last Judgment. But when you ask the individual villager to put his ideas into practice, when you call on him to abandon his idols, when you ask him to break away from his communal life, to take up an independent attitude, or worse still to dishonour his caste by accepting Baptism, then he will shrink back and declare that he cannot act alone.

This brings us, as almost every religious problem in South India brings us sooner or later, to the one central factor, the one invincible barrier, the one all-embracing bond which binds together all who call themselves by the common title Hindu, and that is Caste. The word is so often on our lips and pens that one grows weary of it, but it cannot be avoided. The point I wish to make is that it is caste that deters the village Hindu from embracing Christianity, it is caste (paradoxical as it may appear) that pushes him and his fellows wholesale into Christianity, and it is caste again that saps his spiritual strength after he has entered the fold. For those who still cling to the vain fallacy that caste is merely social rank having its counterpart in England and still more in America, who cannot or will not comprehend that it is not merely pride, but is essentially and fundamentally the one religious bond that binds together all Indians from the philosophic *sannyāsi* at Benares to the most ignorant devil-worshipper at Cape Comorin, from the refined and orthodox Brahman seated on the Bench of the High Court to the degraded, carrion-eating Pariah of the mud *chêri*, these pages are not written.<sup>1</sup> However different the town-dweller may be from the villager, however far apart the teaching of the *Divine Song* may be from the repulsive ceremonies of the village deities, all Hindus are equally bound down by the fetters of caste, which, as even they themselves often acknowledge, is the blight of the whole country.

<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes supposed that Pariahs and other Panchama (fifth class) outcastes are free from caste ; but they are just as great sticklers for it as any one else.

In the January number of this magazine the Rev. W. H. Campbell gave an interesting and lucid account of the "Mass movements in the Mission Field," and it is unnecessary for me to go over the same ground again, except in so far as it is necessary for me to prove my own point, namely, that caste not only retards but also accelerates conversions in India, and then again retards progress in the Christian Church.

Conversions, then, take place, speaking generally, in two ways. First, there is the individual acceptance of Christ in the teeth of bitter opposition. Individualism in any shape is repugnant to the whole trend of the Hindu mind. The average Indian has no more idea of leaving his own community and acting on his own initiative than a particle of stone has of chipping itself off from the parent rock. When he does so and takes the consequence of hatred and persecution, he is displaying in himself a miracle of grace on the part of the Holy Ghost, and is, so to speak, forced by an irresistible and divine impulse to set at nought all his own most cherished conceptions. It is not so much that he has abandoned idolatry, but that he has set himself in opposition to those of his caste, to his own children, and even the wife of his bosom. Such cases of genuine conversion are necessarily rare; and inspiring and cheering as they are to the missionary, in so far as they often rebuke his own lack of faith, India is not being converted in this way. India moves in masses, and it is caste, strange to say, that impels these movements in the direction of Christianity just as much as it is caste that hinders and persecutes the individual seceder. The missionary may preach for years without making a single convert. Let him charm never so wisely his charming falls on deaf ears. He is always met with the same stone-wall kind of an attitude, "What you say is good; when the others join I will join too." So long as the minority remains a minority no appreciable conversions can take place. Then suddenly something happens, and the barriers fall down of their own accord like the walls of Jericho. That something may in itself appear a trifle. The headman, a kind of uncrowned king in each village, may be convinced and feel himself strong enough to carry the village with him; some other village of the same caste

may have come over ; the rich landlord may have begun to oppress the poor labourers, and an appeal to the Englishman to whom they look for protection may be necessary ; famine may have crushed them to the earth and then have been relieved by the charity of Christians ; any of these or similar events may have happened to convert a minority into a majority, and the balance once turned topples over in a moment towards Christianity. Generally such movements begin with a rush and village after village comes in, then they slow down and finally come to a dead stop. The communal feeling that had so long retarded finally pushes thousands of people through the open doors of the Church. The incident that starts the movement is merely the pulling of the trigger, but it is caste that supplies the dynamic force that upheaves the mass. Whether such movements are spiritual or not has been discussed already by Mr. Campbell, and I will say no more except that my own experience among the Tamils coincides with his among the Telugus.

Gratifying as all conversions are to the missionary, who in the weakness of his faith is apt to grow weary of well-doing, there are two depressing circumstances with which these movements are associated. First, such movements often stop as suddenly and as inexplicably as they begin ; and, secondly, the Christians soon fall into a terrible state of stagnation. A brief survey of the history of past movements will, I think, establish both these points. Schwartz is better known as the missionary of Tanjore than of Trichinopoly, because it was in the former place (1778-98) that he made so many converts, though it was in the latter that he began his career and probably did his best work as a missionary pure and simple (1762-78). At Tanjore he was practically Prime Minister under the Rajah, and when famine raged it was he who presided over the royal granaries. He was, in a word, an oriental Joseph under an Indian Pharaoh. Dean Pearson tells us in his *Memoirs of Schwartz* (vol. ii., p. 374) that he made himself, apart from his fellow workers, "between six and seven thousand converts." Dr. Buchanan speaks of these two districts as "the Garden of the Gospel." But what has become of these converts and their descendants? Though whole villages in this district alone have since been received, the

total number of members of the Church of England in the combined districts, and after a century's devoted work, is now less than six thousand (5,785). In the time of Pohlé and Kohlhoff, the successors of Schwartz in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, there were a few conversions every year, but the movement as such was over. A few years later we find Gerické in Tinnevely inaugurating another great movement. Day after day as he travelled from village to village he spent the night and the early hours of the morning in baptizing hundreds of people, till hand and voice must have grown weary with the actual physical labour of baptizing and receiving into the church so many men, women and children. Thousands and thousands came over in a few weeks, but then the movement stopped as suddenly as it began. The next revival that took place in the same district was after the great famine of 1876-7. As a young missionary just out it was my privilege to see this harvest of souls being reaped. In a period of two years or so no fewer than 40,000 Shânârs and other Sudras were received into the Church of England through the agency of the S.P.G. and C.M.S. working side by side. The total number of baptized Christians leapt up to close on 100,000. Again the movement suddenly stopped, and the figures, according to the 1901 census, now stand at only 76,483. Of course emigration will account for a good deal of this leakage, but such an actual decrease in spite of the natural increase by births is both startling and painful. In the Telugu districts north of Madras a similar mass movement is now in progress, and, fortunately, by a gradual process rather than a sudden bound. Those engaged in the work—and several Societies are at work—declare that so far there are no signs of any check or ebb in the tide. It is too early to generalise with any degree of certainty or to lay down any definite laws as to the ebb and flow of these tides, but perhaps enough has been witnessed in the last century and a-half to provide us with at least a working hypothesis.

The saddest feature in these cases is the second. One does not expect revivals to go on for long, or a constant stream of conversions to flow like a flood, for if they did revivals would then become the norm, and as such would

cease to exist ; but one has a right to expect continuous progress in the church itself, and at least not utter stagnation. Of course, an optimistic article could easily be written showing how individual Christians have sprung to the fore, how education in colleges and schools has developed, how the number of Christian graduates has increased, how self-support and self-government have flourished in certain favoured localities, how Christian literature has spread, and so on ; but going back to our village congregations, which form the backbone of all our work, the missionary can scarcely fail to be distressed by the apathy and stagnation that he sees all round. " If the Societies will send out plenty of men and money, well and good ; if not, the congregations must lapse into complete indifference, the churches and schools must fall down, and the evangelisation of the heathen must cease "—this is too much the prevailing tone. And what is the cause of this apathy ? It is that the Christians have never really broken with their old heathen superstitions, their perjuries and low morality in general, and chiefly that they have never abandoned caste. As the conversion of India to Brâhmanism was incomplete, so has the conversion to Christianity been equally incomplete. As caste is the chief and often only bond that has bound the Dravidian to the Hindu, so is caste now the chief tie that binds the Christian to his old faith, and, by hanging a mill-stone round his neck, prevents him from ever being a real, earnest follower of Christ. It was this that made Bishop Corrie echo with approval Bishop Turner's severe remark, when asked what he thought of the Tanjore Christians, " he thought the best way of dealing with them would be to excommunicate them all and begin the work of conversion anew."<sup>1</sup> When we look at the brighter side we may see much to cheer us, as we often do in our ordinary missionary magazines, but in a periodical like THE EAST AND THE WEST we must also be ready to look at the darker side and not make the fatal mistake of under-estimating our enemies. What our chief enemy is cannot for a moment be doubted ; and whatever there may be to cheer, it cannot be denied that the dead hand of Hinduism is over the church in South India as a

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Bishop Corrie*, p. 596.

whole, is paralysing its energies, and poisoning its sources of life and strength. Not only India as a nation, but as a church, has still to be converted. Many individual missionaries have sacrificed their lives in the endeavour single-handed to cut away the Hindu roots and Hindu parasites from the Christian tree, and have failed ; but some day it will be realised that the whole church, in its corporate capacity—strong, unflinching and persistent—must deal with and overcome the evil. Then, and then only, shall we see life from the dead ; and the Indian church will cease to be either an English exotic watered and tended by English hands or a Christian plant rooted in Hinduism, but will become an indigenous tree, flourishing as it stands by the bank of the river that issues from the Sanctuary, and yielding its own rich crop of fruit to the glory of the heavenly Husbandman.

J. A. SHARROCK.

## SIDELIGHTS UPON MISSIONARY WORK IN KAFFRARIA.

HISTORY is being written more quickly out here in South Africa than in settled and civilised countries. The man of sixty who returns to his old home in England after an absence of forty years sees strangely little change in the outward structure of life. It is true that many familiar faces have gone, and that a new generation has grown up. It is true, too, that this generation is bent upon doing everything in less time and with less trouble than the previous one. But yet the home itself remains much the same as it was forty years ago. There is the same church with its grey tower and deep-toned bells, the same memorials in the cemetery of those who have passed away. There are much the same divisions of society, the same amusements, with slightly different dress, the same trades in the same shops.

Forty years ago what should we have found here in Umtata? The river which gives its name to the township was no doubt, even then, a veteran in years, and its waters flowed, as they do now, in the same devious channel, with the same alternations of summer flood and winter trickle.

The veld would still stretch away in undulating lines to lose itself in the distant hills. The clouds would still gather over those hills on hot summer mornings with their promise of cool refreshing storms. And yet, while nature's landmarks remain, how great are the changes in other directions!

Forty years ago there was no single building to be seen. You might have stood on the very spot where now the lofty walls of the new Cathedral are slowly rising to completion; you might have looked round north, south,

east and west, and not a single habitation of man would you have seen.

If you had wandered down to the river where the banks sloped gently to meet the water, you might have seen on the sand the "spoor" of the elephants, and at nightfall you might still have heard the roar of an occasional lion.

The country about Umtata seems, at that time, to have been no-man's-land, and, apart from hunting expeditions the natives only crossed it for purposes of war and cattle-raiding.

The Tembus, Pondos and Põdomisi all eyed one another suspiciously across the wide stretch of veld. Amongst these mutually hostile tribes forty years ago a tiny stream of influence had begun to flow. As yet it could hardly be called a stream, so little was its presence felt. But yet that stream, which we may call missionary effort, had come to stay, and was destined to grow into a great river of power. Wesleyan missionaries had already been working in what is now known as the Transkei for some years, but the nearest missionary to Umtata forty years ago was Bransby Lewis Key, who had just established himself amongst the Põdomisi.

Even then, missionary effort was not the only outside influence at work amongst these tribes. Although as yet they retained their independence, the power of the English government was already being felt, and gradually, one by one, they were to come under its jurisdiction. Trade, too, with its many-sided influence had begun to establish itself.

To-day, after forty years, it is impossible to move a step without seeing the impress upon native life of these streams of influence.

It is quite possible to examine each one of them separately; but at present I am only concerned with throwing a sort of sidelight upon the results of missionary work. I will not take my readers to the actual sphere of missionary work—to the church, or to the school, or to the native ministry, or to the individual converts. I will take them instead to the large hall of the Government court-house in Umtata, where the judge sits on circuit to try reserved



cases. It is here that the annual meeting of the "Bunga," or representative council for certain native districts, is held. As I sat there, a witness to the proceedings on the opening day, I could not help thinking of the wonderful change which had taken place in the last forty years.

At one end of the hall, tables had been arranged in a square, and, at the table which faced the whole assembly was the magistrate who was the chairman of the Council. Sitting round the other tables were some fourteen magistrates, representing districts with a total population of half a million. It is worthy of notice that at least five of these magistrates are the sons of well-known missionaries of earlier days. At the sides and in the body of the hall were the natives, about a hundred in number, most of whom are the Councillors, partly nominated by the magistrates, partly elected by the people of these districts. The great majority of these are presumably heathen. Let us look at a few typical men amongst this assembly of natives. There, on the right, is Dalindyebo ("creator of wealth") the chief of the Tembus and great-son of Ngangelizwe ("the equal of the world") formerly a well-known chief in these parts. Dalindyebo certainly "looks" his name. He is a huge man, excessively stout, clad in a light-coloured suit of a big check pattern.

He occasionally takes "forty winks," but nevertheless is fully alive to all that is going on, and takes the keenest interest in the questions which are being debated. At his side is a native Moravian minister who is his counsellor, and who is probably a very useful man to have at his side at such a meeting. This minister has before him the book of minutes of the last meeting and the "agenda" of the present meeting—all printed in English.

Amongst those who represent the Gcalekas—the aristocratic tribe of the Amaxosa—is Gwebinkumbi ("judge of locusts"). It was his grandfather Kreli who brought the tribe to such terrible ruin by ordering them to obey he impostor Mhlakaza. The latter professed to have received communications from the spirits of their ancestors through his daughter Nongkause, telling them to slaughter cattle and to destroy all their provisions. He promised not only that the white man should be swept out of the

country, but also that there would be a general resurrection of people and of possessions.

Many sections of the Fingo tribe are represented. George Jamangile represents, with two others, the Amabele, and is a good type of a Christian man who is universally respected, both for his character and for the wise head on his shoulders.

To represent the Amazize, I see Samuel Nombewu, who is a head man in our parish and a Christian.

These are a few only out of the body of representatives, and here they meet in perfect amity, where forty years ago they or their fathers would have met to kill and to destroy.

And why have they come together? A glance at the formidable list of agenda makes it clear that the progress of the native people, in the widest sense, is the object of the gathering. Native education, higher and lower, industrial and mental, occupies a prominent place in the discussions; but the upkeep of roads, breeding of horses and cattle, the destruction of noxious weeds, and other matters which affect the material prosperity of the people, are also represented.

Nor do merely local interests absorb the whole attention of the Council. The great labour question, which has done so much to influence the recent elections in England and fills the daily papers at home with the controversy, has not been lost sight of.

The importation of the Chinese did not come as a surprise to the natives. The "Chinaman" had been used to shut the mouth of the Kaffir when he had any complaints to make. "You," they said, "object to a contract of five or six months; the Chinaman will work on for three years. You object to go underground; he will go anywhere, he will do any sort of work."

Upon all these points it is not the magistrates alone who speak. The natives are not only good and fluent speakers, but upon many of these subjects their words are worthy of every attention.

The magistrates speak in English, and their words are interpreted into Xosa, while with the natives the process is reversed. In one case one of the natives present delivered

a long and excellent speech about higher education, in good English.

But perhaps some one will say, "Don't you take all this too seriously? Is not the change after all very much a matter of the surface? Is this not a mere veneer of civilisation thrown over the same savage beings of forty years ago? Take off Government control. Remove your contingents of Cape Mounted Riflemen with their Maxim guns. Sweep away the trousers and coats. Let the natural man appear. Shall we then find any real change? We can understand that the strong hand of government and the civilising power of trade have changed the outward form, but has religion done anything more? Does this change go any deeper? Is there any moral progress?"

At first sight the answer to this question may not seem to be very satisfactory. If you were to follow some of those respectable-looking councillors when they return to their own homes after their fortnight's work at the "Bunga," you might see some surprising changes in their outward appearance and manner of life. Here is a man whom you noticed sitting at the Council soberly dressed in European clothing. This man entered warmly into the discussion about higher education, and advocated an inter-state college where promising native youths from the various parts of South Africa could obtain the advantages of learned professors. When the Council breaks up, this man, with some attendants, mounts his pony and rides off to his own home. When he arrives at his kraal, the sober suit of cloth is packed away in a box, and our friend reappears in a red-ochred blanket and goes to lie down outside the cattle kraal while one of his wives prepares his food. A little later on you might see him again the centre of a large group at a neighbouring beer-drink.

Again, too, it must be remembered that missionary effort is not merely contending with the original tendencies of heathenism, or with merely primitive degradation. Experts tell us after the most careful investigation that—

"It must apparently be accepted as an axiom that contact with what we are accustomed to regard as civilisation has a demoralising tendency as its first effect upon primitive races. It is clear that the native year by year is becoming familiar with new forms of

sexual immorality, intemperance and dishonesty, and that his naturally imitative disposition, his virility and escape from home and tribal influences, provide a too-congenial soil for the cultivation of acquired vices.”<sup>1</sup>

Unhappily no one who lives at all in one of our European townships can fail to verify this. The young man who is a perpetual frequenter of beer-drinks amongst his own people may not be an agreeable person, but when he goes to work in a town, adopts “clothing,” sips brandy, and learns low tricks, he drops into a lower place altogether.

The truth is that at present all is in a state of flux, and it is exceeding difficult to measure the issues. In the fierce confusion of battle it is by no means easy to see where the victory really lies, and how far it is assured.

I could take my readers away from the noise of the battle to certain places and to certain individuals, where the signs of victory are unmistakable. In such places and amongst such people we see the *real* results of missionary work and, we hope, the yeast which will leaven the whole lump.

But at present we are thinking of the “Bunga,” and although this is not directly concerned with moral questions, yet, even here, there seem to be indications that the natives themselves are not merely interested in material and mental progress.

In the report of proceedings of the annual meeting in 1905, I find that a deputation of missionaries working in the Transkei waited upon the Council and presented a petition requesting action to be taken in regard to immoral practices at *heathen* gatherings and dances. Many of the native councillors spoke about the matter, and they agreed that the degrading character of these gatherings was comparatively of modern growth, and that efforts should be made to regulate them and to deprive them of their immoral character.

One old headman said he wished to thank the reverend gentlemen for their presence to-day, for it was a custom to call men of their calling “cowards”—that is to say “men who do not like to make a parade of their work or mix it up with that of public bodies or officers” . . . After

<sup>1</sup> See Report of Inter-Colonial Native Commission.

enumerating some of the evils which had grown up round these heathen dances, he ended by saying, "we must treat these things as war, for they are destroying the people." This is a saying to be remembered, and it may justly be claimed as one of the many signs that missionary effort has gone below the surface, and that its results are seen not only amongst Christian converts, but also in heathen life.

These same experts who pronounced so sadly upon the first effects of contact with civilisation added elsewhere in their report, as a result of their experience, "that hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals."

GODFREY CALLAWAY.

## THE PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS IN PALESTINE.

THE main characteristics of Christian missions to Moslems must remain the same, but each country where Islam is found as an effective creed has its own special features, difficulties, and advantages.

Palestine was one of the earliest lands, beyond the confines of Arabia, to fall before the sword of Islam. Many of its inhabitants adopted the creed of their conquerors, and their ranks were augmented by immigrants from Arabia. A not inconsiderable portion of the people, however, refused to give up the faith of their fathers. At first they were treated with a certain amount of consideration, but as time went on the lot of the native Christians gradually changed for the worse, until in the first five decades of the nineteenth century it was almost as bad as it was possible to be. Reckoned as scarcely human, denied practically all civil rights, their mere existence barely tolerated, the wonder is that any of them remained Christians. The fact that they did so, notwithstanding all the indignities heaped on them and in spite of every inducement to become Mohammedans, demands our respect and admiration even while we lament the low condition of their spiritual life.

If the result of this state of things was humiliating to the oppressed Christians, it was, if possible, even more degrading in its reflex action on the oppressors. Who of them, moreover, would care to even inquire into the tenets of a faith which not only was regarded by them as false, but which also carried with it such tremendous civil disabilities and absolute social ostracism?

The turn of the tide seems to have come, at least as far

and he only retains his position by the power of the sword. Now with the Sultanate goes the Khalifate, so that the Sultan of Turkey is not only a civil ruler but also the spiritual head on earth of the orthodox Moslem faith. Hence the rule and the faith of the Turk are inextricably intertwined, and dislike of the former must affect the influence of the latter. The rule of the Turk is notorious, even in the East, for its oppression and corruption. I once overheard two peasants in a Palestine village, one a Moslem, the other a Christian, expressing their thankfulness at the appointment of a certain man, an Arab, as governor of a neighbouring province. I knew the man to belong to a family notorious for its corruptness and injustice, and on my expressing my surprise that they should welcome his appointment, "Ah, but you see he is not a Turk!" was the unanswerable reply. During the revolt in Egypt under Arabi Pasha, just before the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, notices in Arabic were posted on the doors of the mosques in Damascus calling on the Moslems to rise and drive the Turks out of the country, and there is little doubt but that, had Arabi won that battle, both Syria and Palestine would have been lost to Turkey.

Some years ago there was a good deal of unrest in Palestine, and rumours were rife of a possible rising of the Moslems and consequent massacre of the Christians. I was talking over the matter one day with one of our leading native clergy when he said to me, "Mark my words, if ever there be a rising of the Moslems, the first persons they will kill will not be the Christians but the Turkish officials!"

This feeling is strengthened, strange as it may seem, by a purely Mohammedan institution, viz. the Hajj, or annual pilgrimage to Mecca. There, year by year, the burdened and oppressed subjects of Ottoman Sultans meet the Moslems of India and learn the contrast of their condition under a Christian government. Then these Syrian Mohammedans return home to repeat the story they have heard of the blessings their co-religionists enjoy under English rule and to sigh for British judges and to long for the time when some Christian power shall give them freedom from the iron yoke of the Turk.

The advance of Western civilisation is another factor which is having a disintegrating effect in Palestine. The extension of railroads in the East, the introduction of the telegraph and postal system and other accessories of modern life, all tend to show the Mohammedan his inferiority to Christian nations. The increased communication between East and West, owing to the greater facilities for travel during the last twenty years, is working in the same direction. It is now a far less serious matter to go from Palestine to India or America than it was, fifty years ago, to make the journey from Jerusalem to Damascus or Beyrout. At the same time the increasing poverty of the people is compelling them to seek, in growing numbers, employment in other lands.

Education, again, in most Moslem lands has been utterly neglected till revived by Christian agencies. To this rule Palestine offered no exception. The revival of learning, even of the most elementary order, was due entirely to the Christian missionaries. When Bishop Gobat, the second Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, went there between fifty and sixty years ago, he found only one school in all Palestine for Arabic-speaking children. He gradually opened elementary day schools all over the country wherever the people would have them, and for several decades the primary vernacular education of Palestine was almost exclusively in the hands of English missionaries, for the most part in connection with the Church Missionary Society. The Moslems were quick to see the advantages of education, and tolerated the religious teaching of the mission schools for the sake of the secular subjects taught, while the close contact with Christian teachers, both native and foreign, broke down much of the former contempt, and resulted in kindlier feelings and often in real respect for the Nazarenes. Bishop Gobat's work stirred up first the Oriental churches and ultimately the Ottoman Government to do their share in general education, and now nearly every village in Palestine has its day school, and the towns their secondary and higher grade seminaries.

The trend of events seems now to be putting education once more into the hands of the European missionaries. The schools of the civil authority have been tried and



found wanting. The Medaniin, or townspeople, are keenly alive to the advantages of a good education for their children, and the same holds good to a large extent of the Fellahin. Many too are prepared to pay relatively high fees in what they consider to be the best schools.

Of the forces which are thus slowly but surely undermining the fortress of Islam, medical missions are unquestionably the most potent. Doors which are fast closed to every other Nazarene stand wide open to the medical missionary, ears which would not tolerate the message of the Cross from any other lips will give it a respectful hearing from him because of the personal esteem in which he is held. For Islam is not in practice, whatever it may be in theory, a religion of love. Medical missions give to all classes of Mohammedans, rich as well as poor, highly placed officials as well as wandering beggars, the best possible object lesson and the most convincing proof that the Christian's God is a God of love. Our mission hospitals and dispensaries appeal in the most direct and powerful way to the bigoted follower of "the Prophet," and heap coals of fire on his head, proving to him that the religion of the despised Christian leads him to do for the Moslem what the latter would never do even for his fellow "believers," much less for "dogs of infidels." The patient care and practical love shown in the tending of the sick and dying (so utterly foreign to Islam) calls forth all that is best in the Eastern, and even wins from him the admission that the Christian is the better man of the two.

When we turn to look at Islam from within we find that, in Palestine, even in religious matters, it is not where it was fifty years ago.

It is not generally recognised how large a number of sects there are in Mohammedanism. They number not less than three hundred. Many of them have but few adherents and are insignificant in influence, but others are large and powerful. Some of them are more hostile to Christianity than is the average orthodox "believer," but others, and among them some of the most vigorous, are far more tolerant.

There is in Palestine, moreover, an undercurrent of belief that that land will one day be again Christian ; and,

with some, this expectation embraces the whole world, or, as I once heard it expressed by a Moslem sheikh of liberal views, "The beginning of the world was Christian and its end will be so also." Then again, there is a very definite and widespread conviction that our Blessed Lord will return to this earth to reign for a period in Jerusalem, after having slain the Antichrist. I have often found that the fact that we Christians are also expecting the Saviour to come again has greatly impressed the Moslem. Many of the Mohammedans are beginning to realise that there is more to be said for Christianity than they had previously thought. Not long ago, a number of village sheikhs (Moslems) met in a certain hamlet in Palestine, to arbitrate in some local dispute. The business which had brought them together being ended, the conversation turned to the Christian religion. One of those present declared his belief that the Christian religion was a good one, giving as his reason the honest, moral lives of native Christians of his acquaintance, while a second said that he believed that Saidna Isa, as the Moslems call our Blessed Lord, was Divine, quoting in proof thereof a passage from the Koran and adding, "What can that mean but that He is God?"

Other difficulties which the Christian missionary in Palestine has had to contend with will be lessened as time goes on and Moslems gain a truer estimate of what our holy Faith really teaches. For instance, two things have in the past tended to give Mohammedans in Syria a false idea of the Christian doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. The first is the Mariolatry of the Oriental churches, and the second the mistaken line which native Christians have taken, as a rule, in controversy with them. The former, in common with the use of icons and (in the Latin churches) images, have been regarded by them as idolatry, and therefore utterly abhorrent to the true Moslem. In the case of the latter the Eastern Christians seem to have tried, for the most part, to *prove* the doctrine of the Holy Trinity instead of accepting it as a fact revealed by God but incomprehensible to finite human reason. This latter position would be, to the average Moslem, a perfectly reasonable one, as he will always grant that the Nature and Being of God must infinitely transcend human comprehension. By seek-

ing to prove this great fact, Christians have landed themselves in all manner of difficulties, and have seemed to teach polytheism. The purer doctrine and practice, and the wiser controversial methods of Western Christians, are doing much to remove such misconceptions amongst thinking men.

A great change is in progress at the present time in Palestine in regard to the position and prospect of missionary work among Moslems. This must not, however, lead us to underrate the difficulties with which we have to contend. These difficulties, whether inherent or adventitious, are as formidable as any with which the Christian missionary has to contend in any land or from any creed. Perhaps the greatest of these difficulties, and one which is inherent in his creed, is the fact that the Moslem is on a different plane, spiritually, from that of the heathen. The Christian missionary who tells a heathen for the first time the story of the Cross, brings him a message which is absolutely new. He has never heard of Jesus Christ. The Moslem, on the other hand, has been always familiar in a more or less perverted form with the story of our redemption, and has from his childhood been taught that it is a lie. So that while the religion of the heathen simply knows nothing of the Saviour it is of the essence of that of Islam to deny Christ's Divinity and to reject His Atonement.

When, too, we remember how miserably inadequate have been the forces employed in the evangelisation of the Moslems of Palestine, the wonder is, not that there have been so few results, but that so much has been accomplished.

In every mission field, as the work grows and develops and the condition of the people changes, different agencies assume special prominence. The test of missionary statesmanship is to recognise when and how this or that particular agency should be employed. Thus in the early days of a mission the energies of the workers will be almost exclusively devoted to the various forms of evangelistic work; at another stage of its history educational and literary work will take prominent places; while at another the organisation of the native church and training of native clergy and other agents will be the most pressing need.

Each of these various agencies will, in the form of its working and development, be conditioned by the special circumstances of place and people where and among whom the missionary is working.

In Palestine every kind of missionary agency is needed, from the most elementary form of evangelistic work up to that of advanced higher education.

Medical mission work needs to be greatly strengthened and increased. More centres are needed, and each centre requires a larger European staff of nurses and medical men. It is especially important that the work should be extended in the villages. The great bulk of the population, probably from 75 to 80 per cent., live in villages, hamlets or Bedouin camps. Here is unlimited scope for itinerant medical missions. The villages are easier to work than the towns, and if systematically worked, the mission hospitals being used as bases, they would yield rich results. But to obtain these results the men and women who go from village to village and from camp to camp must be first of all missionaries of Jesus Christ and only secondarily healers of the body. The doctor or nurse must never be regarded as only a decoy to bring patients in for others to teach concerning the love of Christ. Theirs is the influence which is to be consecrated to drawing men to the Saviour. They it is who by their kindly patient skill win the respect and love of the poor Mohammedan men and women and thus gain a hearing for their message of healing for the soul.

Education, too, is one of the most pressing needs. Men and women with gifts for teaching will find ample scope for their talents here. Particularly will this be the case with regard to the education of the women. I once heard a missionary bishop say that he believed that Islam which so degraded woman would be won largely through its women. Women, in spite of their terrible degradation, exercise a great power among Mohammedans, and that power has been hitherto used against Christianity. One result of the many forces at work in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and other regions of the Levant is that women are beginning to share in the advantages of education. The teaching and training of women and girls is essentially woman's work. The work of women missionaries should, in the East, be con-

fined to women. The time has not yet come when women can teach or work amongst those of the opposite sex, as is so often done in England, without the risk of serious reproach and misunderstanding which would mar the spiritual good of their labours. The only exception to this is the work of nurses in hospitals and medical missions, though even here the more women confine themselves to ministering to women the better.

The spread of education, especially in its higher forms, is calling, and will in the near future call more and more urgently, for men qualified to take up the problem of evangelising the Moslems from its more intellectual side. Controversy, in dealing with a highly developed creed like that of Islam, must play an important part, and the Christian missionary who would help to guide the educated Mohammedan to Christ must thoroughly understand and appreciate his difficulties. To do so he must have more than a superficial acquaintance with Mohammedanism. The late Bishop French of Lahore used to say that the missionary to Moslems must, next to his Bible, know the Koran. Every Christian missionary who has had much to do with Mohammedans will endorse this saying. How can we expect our words to have any weight with earnest men if we have to confess that we have never read their sacred book nor studied what they have to say on the questions at issue between us? The missionary who has not a real acquaintance with the contents of the Koran misses what is often a most valuable weapon in the Moslem controversy. Few would credit, who had not specially studied the matter, how many of the modern Mohammedan objections to the doctrines of Christianity can be met from the Koran itself. To give one instance. The divinity of our Lord is one of the chief facts to which Moslems take exception; yet in the Koran the Virgin Birth is clearly taught and is firmly held by orthodox "believers"; a fact which gives powerful support to the Christian dogma. Controversy needs, however, to be used with discretion. It is rarely wise for us to commence it, for it seldom leads a man to the Light. Indeed, for the most part it only stirs up natural opposition. Still the Christian missionary must be able to meet the objections, answer the questions, and explain the diffi-

culties of opponents and inquirers ; always remembering that his aim is not to gain a logical victory, nor to prove his opponent to be wrong, but to lead souls to the Saviour.

There is a great opening for men of mental calibre in the towns of Palestine. They should preferably be graduates of one or other of our universities, and men of tact and patience, for the Oriental mind is cast in such an utterly different mould from ours that it needs much forbearance and grace to take quietly what seems to us the stupidity and inconsequence of their reasoning and objections. The man who is to succeed in this work must at all times be accessible to the Moslem visitor, and should therefore be free from the burden of educational work or the superintendence of mission districts ; and the general serving of tables, which often claim so considerable a part of a missionary's time and energies. He will need all his spare time for the study of his subject. But when he has done all that study, thought, and prayer can do, it is the man himself that will be the chief factor in the success of his work. If he be a man of bright hopefulness, strong faith, and deep spirituality he will accomplish more, even if he be of but moderate ability, than the abler man who is lacking in these essential qualities. If he be a man of real personal piety the Moslems will be quick to note it, and will respect and admire him for it. The men I have known who have had most influence with Mohammedans have not been the men who were most gifted, but the men who lived closest to God.

To whatever branch of the work we turn we find openings in Palestine for men of the highest gifts and most varied attainments. Has a man linguistic gifts, he will find ample scope in Jerusalem as he listens to the forty to fifty languages habitually spoken there ; has he administrative power, the organisation of the aggressive missionary work with its many problems will call forth all his energies ; has he literary skill, the rapid spread of education is calling for the best talents which the Church of Christ can give to this work. The results of work in Palestine are far-reaching in their consequences. Men come there as pilgrims from all parts of the Moslem world. One of our converts in Jerusalem was a Pathan from the Afghan frontier of the Punjab.

A Persian-speaking Afghan from Cabul was for months a frequent visitor to our Bible depôt in Jerusalem. There is in Jerusalem a little colony of Hausa-speaking negroes from Sokoto, Lokoja, and other towns of Nigeria and Western Equatorial Africa ; while all parts of the Egyptian Soudan, and the Swahili-speaking tribes of the east coast of Africa are represented. At Acre there lives a colony of Persians belonging to the Babi sect ; while Kurds, Turks, Circassians, and Georgians, and many other Moslem races come as pilgrims and traders, or are settled in the country.

It may be objected that no account has been taken of the Greek Church, which is the church of the country. That church has, however, yet to learn the responsibility and privilege of evangelising the Moslems. When we remember how but recently, with all our privileges, we as a church have awoke to our duty and how very imperfectly we are discharging it even now, who are we that we should cast stones ? Rather should we seek by our presence and example to stimulate and encourage the Greek Church, to find in caring for the souls of the non-Christian peoples around it that spiritual health and vigour which will enable it to surmount the difficulties which beset it. For no one can gainsay the fact that it is beset with tremendous difficulties. Its priests and people are all Ottoman subjects, and therefore have not the freedom of action which we enjoy. Though the changes which the last fifty years have wrought in the position of Christians generally have improved their position, it will be many years before they can shake off the numbing influences of centuries of virtual slavery. They lack, as yet, any adequate machinery for the education of their clergy, who are, in consequence, lamentably ignorant. They have had all that they could do to withstand the proselytising efforts of the Latin Church ; moreover, their bishops and higher clergy are almost invariably foreigners, between whom and the native priests there is but little co-operation or sympathy.

Such being the case there is no question as to what is our duty in the matter. Apart altogether from the inability of the Greek Church to cope with the evangelisation of the Moslems of Palestine, we English have such excep-

tional advantages in this direction as to constitute a special call to the work. Whatever be the varying moods of Yildiz Kiosk, dictated by the political exigencies of the moment, the name of Englishmen stands high in Moslem esteem. To prove that this statement is no flattering opinion dictated by national vanity, I will quote from an American writer, a missionary who has lived for many years in the near East and knows its peoples well :

"Wherever an Englishman may travel among Mohammedans he will be received with hospitality. Let him journey among the Kurds of Armenia, the Shi'ah Moslems of Persia, the Bedouin Arabs of the desert, the more cultivated Mohammedans of Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad, the semi-savage and fanatical Yezbeks of Asia Minor, the hardy mountaineers of Albania, or the merciless Circassians scattered all over the Turkish empire, and his English name will everywhere ensure him a friendly welcome."

And again :

"Another fact which has increased the confidence of Mohammedans in Syria in the English has been the residence among them of some British Christian merchants. More potent than the sermons or tracts of missionaries has been the silent influence of some British merchants who, amidst the temptations of trade, the crookedness, duplicity and corruptness of native merchants and officials, have maintained their integrity untarnished, until the highest and most sacred oath a Moslem can swear, even above the oath by the beard of the Prophet, is by the word of an Englishman !"

Surely such an advantage, such prestige was not given us for self-gratification, nor to facilitate travel in those lands, nor yet that we might develop our commerce, but that we might extend the empire of our Lord and Saviour.

What is true of the English as a race is true also of the Church of England as a church. In our organisation, our doctrine, and our practice we appeal powerfully to the Mohammedan peoples of the East. Episcopacy is Oriental in its origin and characteristics, and as an Episcopal church we have an organisation which is pre-eminently suited to the Eastern character and modes of thought. In our repudiation of images and icon worship we have what almost might be called a bond of sympathy with the Moslem. So much is this so, that several times when in reply



to the objections of Mohammedans to Christian images and icons, I have told them that we English have no such objects of worship and do not allow them in our churches, "Then we are brothers," has been their immediate response.

We have, then, as a nation and a church, a special duty to perform to the Moslem world and especially to Palestine, a duty which no other nation or church can perform, but one which hitherto we have only half realised. We have at the present time a great opportunity, but that opportunity will not always be within our reach. The average Oriental is religious, but side by side with the growth of education a practical agnosticism is spreading which will be harder to deal with than the present form of Islam. Our prestige will go, our influence will vanish if we do not make of them the use for which they were given of God.

Let us remember the cry of the old Greek mathematician, *δὸς ποῦ στῶ*, and, realising that God has given us such a fulcrum in our position and influence as a church and nation, go forth in the might of His spirit to take our part in the conversion to Christ of the Moslem peoples.

C. T. WILSON.

## THE USE OF SACRED PICTURES.

Do we, members of the Church of England, make as intelligent a use of sacred pictures as we might? It seems to the writer that this is not so, and that comparatively few people realise the importance of pictures as a means for conveying religious instruction.

As aids to devotion, pictures will never occupy the same place with us that they do with some nations; the Englishman has such a horror of what he terms "idolatry" that he is positively incapable of showing any real affection or reverence to a picture. Of all nations the Russians show the most passionate devotion to pictures. Whether it be in the magnificent churches of the Kremlin, which glitter with costly gems, or in some rude station of the Siberian railway, where, though it may be the work of a local artist, the icon is never neglected and the picture has a real place in the daily life of the people. One thing that impressed the Japanese in the late war was the reverence with which the Russian soldier regarded his icon. When Port Arthur surrendered each Russian was allowed to take what luggage he could carry on his back. A Japanese, who witnessed the arrival of many of the captives, told me that he was astonished at the number of pictures and sacred images which the men produced out of their bundles. Whatever else they left behind they were determined not to leave a single icon behind them.

"Our men often threw away their charms, but the Russian never threw away his cross nor his sacred picture," said a Japanese officer.

It is true that the feeling with which the Russian regarded his icon was often just as superstitious as the feeling with which the Japanese regarded the charm from some Buddhist or Shinto shrine, but in many cases the

icon was to the Russian soldier a symbol of a deep-seated faith and gave just the religious teaching that such illiterate men could most easily receive.

I had occasion to visit one of the great camps for Russian prisoners in Japan. Over 10,000 soldiers were located in long one-story sheds; of these sheds the Japanese gave four to be used as churches. We went into two, one which was used by Poles and one which was used by Russians. In both of them the east end was elaborately covered with figures of saints. I imagined that the pictures must have been sent from Russia, but learnt to my surprise that they had all been painted by the prisoners. The Japanese guards told me that the prisoners had had nothing to copy from, but that they knew their icons so well that they knew exactly how each saint should be represented. The pictures were wonderfully effective, and being the only bright home-like thing in that dreary place, gave great pleasure.

Without going into the question of whether we benefit or lose by our national prejudice against sacred pictures, I would like to speak of their use in the teaching of Christianity in the mission field. It has been my lot during the last few years to give a number of lantern lectures at which the audience has generally been composed of unbelievers, so I have had to consider the question of what pictures I should use. One is apt to start with the idea that one must show only good pictures, that one ought to aim at good art; but I am now inclined to think that it is better not to look at the picture from the artistic side at all, but merely ask that it present as clearly as possible the spiritual or historical truth that one wants to teach.

For the missionary, the all-important thing in the picture is the idea, and for purposes of teaching one longs that more artists had been like Blake, of whom we are told that he "stripped his drawing of everything that was not essential to the idea he wished to represent, there is never a single redundant accessory." Nearly every Italian picture is so full of puzzling accessories as to be rendered almost useless for the mission field.

Correggio's Nativity is spoilt for missionary use by the angels at the top. I know quite well that if I were to show

that picture to a Japanese audience, their minds would at once be occupied with speculations as to what the great fat creatures suspended in the air could possibly be doing. Angels are a difficulty in pictorial art ; wings, often of a most realistic description, have come to be the recognised symbol of spiritual beings, but seen for the first time they are very puzzling. When we, who are Christians, look at a picture like the "Madonna di San Sisto," we give no more thought to the little winged heads than we would do to flowers in a landscape. To those, however, among unbelievers, who see the picture for the first time, the question at once arises as to who they are and what they are doing. This may be helpful as an opportunity of speaking on the subject of angels ; but, again, it may be an introduction of new ideas which will tend to take the attention from the central truth that one wishes to impress.

Mrs. Jameson, in her book on Sacred Art, says :—

"Whatever be the treatment as to character, lineament, or dress, wings are almost invariably the attribute of the angelic form. As emblematical appendages these are not merely significant of the character of celestial messengers, for from time immemorial wings have been the Oriental and Egyptian symbol of power, as well as of swiftness, of the spiritual and aërial, in contradistinction to the human and earthly."

I do not find that there is this idea with regard to the significance of wings among the Japanese.

Many beautiful Italian pictures have to be discarded because of their materialistic and disagreeable representations of God the Father, and we must turn to the more modern school of painting, and then not always to the greatest artists, for what we want in the way of simple and striking pictures for Sunday school teaching or lantern slides.

Burne-Jones' "Adoration" is such a beautiful picture that one regrets not being able to use it, but that tall angel and the immense wealth of detail are distracting to those who are not familiar with the Bible story.

I have a Nativity by Doré which I have used very often and with great pleasure. The Mother is seated with the Child on her knee, while a few rough peasants kneel

beside her ; the light falls strongly on the central figures, and when the picture is shown as a lantern slide, it is they who occupy the minds of the audience. As a work of art it is not to be compared with many other Nativities, but it is clear and simple and the impression it leaves is both helpful and permanent.

What we missionaries aim at with our pictures is to produce such an impression on the eye-gate of memory that the idea will remain in the mind, and we have to remember that a new idea is more easily received through the eye-gate than the ear-gate.

In the matter of pictures the English publishers are much behind the American. We have nothing produced in England as good as the pictures by the Wilde Company, Boston, or the "Perry Pictures," which offer photogravure reproductions of good pictures for one penny. In England I can find nothing of the same size under threepence. The Roman Catholics at Downside Abbey publish an artistic little series at twopence each, but the pictures in it are all of the early Italian school. The Berean Leaf Cluster, published in the States, is a useful set of pictures ; it consists of rolls giving a picture for each Sunday of the year ; they appear quarterly and cost about four shillings the roll. Their Old Testament pictures are most unsatisfactory, they are too fanciful, and the same epithet may be applied to some of the New Testament, but each New Testament roll contains some good pictures.

It is now ten years since a missionary showed me a Berean picture of the Crucifixion. When I saw it I knew that I had at last found the representation of the Crucifixion that I should like to show to unbelievers. I have never been able to find out who was the artist, but I have shown that picture as a lantern slide to thousands of soldiers, and always with the feeling that it was more satisfactory than any other I had seen. The three crosses are in the distance, the figures on them showing but faintly ; beside them, in a prominent position, stand the holy women ; a crowd of Jews stand round ; in the near foreground is a Roman soldier ; a dark cloud overshadows Jerusalem, which is seen in the background. The whole makes a striking picture, and when using it one is able to

point out very clearly the different classes of people who were present at the Crucifixion.

Another good picture from the Berean Leaf Cluster is one in which the crosses do not come into the picture at all, but are indicated by their shadows, which fall vividly on the near foreground. To make large use in the mission field of representations of a suffering Christ, in the way that is done by Roman Catholics, is contrary to the usage of the early Church. The first centuries of Christianity give us pictures of Christ and the woman of Samaria, Christ and Lazarus, the Good Shepherd, the True Vine, and other subjects, but the earliest representation of the Crucifixion is in the sixth century. Even as a Christian symbol, the Cross was not known at the time that the Catacombs were used, and the nearest thing to any representation of the Passion is the Crown of Thorns, which is proved by the legend of St. Veronica to be of a very early date.

Some of the art critics of to-day say that Tissot's pictures have but little artistic value. If such is the case it shows how entirely the effect produced on the spectator is independent of artistic value. When Tissot's pictures were first shown in Paris the impression created was so great that people knelt in front of them. One can often gather a new light on some incident of Our Lord's life by looking at a picture by Tissot, and his smallest productions show deep thought. There is an interesting series of pictures of angels who hold a clock marking the hour of each event of the day of the Crucifixion. I have often wished that this series could be published separately.

Much, however, as I admire Tissot's pictures I have never found them of use in the mission field. If one uses Tissot's pictures, one must use his only, they cannot be mixed with pictures by other artists, and to my mind the representation of Our Lord is realistic to a degree that is sometimes painful.

I have made a set of slides for use in Holy Week in which the following widely differing artists make a very harmonious series :—Da Vinci's Last Supper ; Madox Brown's Washing of the Disciples' Feet ; several by Hoffman ; Doré's Christ leaving the Praetorium ; a Crucifixion from the Berean Leaf Cluster ; Ciseri's Entombment ;

Bougereau's Resurrection. The Entombment by Ciseri is a striking modern picture at Locarno, representing the disciples carrying Our Lord's body and followed by the holy women. This picture is much improved for missionary purposes by blocking out the figure of Mary Magdalene, who is represented in the conventional but really unjustifiable way with bare shoulders and hair falling about her.

From early times the Ascension of Our Lord has been felt to be a peculiarly difficult subject, and it is rarely treated in sacred art. The few representations which I have seen have not been helpful; strange to say, the artists have ignored the words "A cloud received Him," and Our Lord is represented as ascending into a clear blue sky.

Some pictures have an attraction which it is impossible to account for: they seem to appeal to a deep-seated feeling of the human heart. Hoffman's picture of the "Agony in Gethsemane" belongs to this class. It was not a picture that had particularly attracted me, and I remember my surprise some years ago when a Japanese Christian asked me to get him a large copy to hang in his room. I thought that it was the peculiar taste of that man which led him to pick out that one from all other pictures, but I have observed in the last few years that there is no sacred picture that one sees so often on sale in shops in Japan. Once on entering a small ward in a military hospital I saw that picture pinned on to the wall beside a bed. I thought, of course, that the soldier lying there must be a Christian. "No," he said, "I am not a Christian and I don't understand that picture very well, but a friend brought it to me to 'comfort' me." I gave him a tract and a Gospel, and I am sure that his mind had been prepared for them by the long hours he had lain there gazing at the unknown kneeling Christ.

I was interested in finding the following remarks in an American Church Magazine about that picture: "Let the man who is stricken with the sorrow of his life kneel beside you with clasped hands and uplifted face. You know the picture of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane: I say it reverently—that physical posture will bring relief to anguish of heart more than any words of yours."

I was once distributing "Graphics" in a military hospital

to soldiers ; one man turned over the pages as if looking for something. "What is it you want ?" I asked him.

"I want to see Jesus," he said. "You are the Christian lady : can you not show me a picture of Him ?"

I opened my bag and gave him a book I had made of Perry pictures and a tract to explain them. I told the man he might keep them till I came again, but when I went back he had already been sent elsewhere and my little book of pictures had floated away from me, perhaps to do a work of its own.

Opinions may differ as to how far it is right to use representations of Our Lord, some may even agree with Tertullian and wish to forbid them altogether, but the desire to *see* Jesus is natural to the human heart.

Sir Wyke Bayliss, in his interesting book *Rex Regum : a painter's study of the Likeness of Christ*, gives all the arguments for believing that the portraiture of Our Lord has an historical foundation and dates from the second century when fairly accurate portraits were done on glass. He divides the likenesses into two classes, one which was symbolic and one which showed the true type.

"The essential condition of the symbols was that they should not bear the Likeness. And so a type was adopted—a simple Roman type which Roman artists, taught in the great pagan schools, understood and followed. But side by side with it existed the other type—the true type—which the disciples loved, and in which artists of to-day, as well as in the days of Constantine or the days of Raphael, recognise the characteristics of true portraiture. Cimabue, Giotto, and Fra Angelico, Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, Correggio, Da Vinci, Veronese, Dürer, Memling, Murillo and the rest have but one conception of Christ's face. Varying as they do in their infinite changes of style and force, and choice of subject, and method of handling, yet they all observe the same type, because they all take it from a tradition that they received but did not invent ; and that they accept as higher and truer than anything they could themselves create."

If there is a real likeness in the portraiture of Our Lord this would be an additional reason for using pictures in the mission field, so that an early Church may become accustomed to the true type before developing a native Christian type.

Robert Louis Stevenson says that "to know what you



prefer instead of humbly saying Amen to what the world tells you you ought to prefer, is to have kept your soul alive." There are a great many people who do not keep their souls alive with regard to pictures ; they humbly hang on their walls the pictures that the world tells them they ought to admire, without ever perceiving the idea that the picture is meant to convey. It is impossible for those whose souls are thus dead to make any successful use of sacred art, yet as pictures often convey a spiritual truth in a way that words cannot do, the missionary who does not study them is neglecting a very beautiful method of instruction.

S. BALLARD.

## WORK AMONG LASCARS IN LONDON.

EARLY in the nineteenth century good people began to interest themselves in the state of the coloured people who were to be seen in great numbers in East London, and were to be met with in most parts of the country engaged in picking up a precarious livelihood by begging.

In the year 1842, there was some correspondence in the newspapers on the subject. The following are extracts from letters which appeared at that time :

“ It is supposed that not fewer than 3,000 of these men annually visit the Port of London. Last winter hundreds of them were left to sleep in the open, or beneath some defenceless covering with scarcely an article of clothing, while in every part of the city they might be seen sweeping the crossings for a few chance pence. They were allowed to leave our shores, and return home as heathen more corrupt and degraded than when they left their native land.”

Another writes in the same year :

“ When I was in London twenty years ago Mr. Allen and I determined that we would visit the Lascar quarters ourselves. We went to Wapping, and found two or three hundred of them walking about in a large yard ; and others in the interior of the buildings. They said that they were ill-fed and badly treated by a person (a superior Lascar) who had the command over them, both as to food, clothes, and settling disputes among them. He frequently whipped them. We desired to see this man (this superior Lascar) who could speak English also, and at length he was found. We told him of the reports we had heard, but he denied them. We found that in talking to him about his severities he became frightened. This gave us courage, and we demanded to go inside the buildings in a peremptory tone. The buildings which we entered were like warehouses, very dirty, and I think without any pavement—the floor consisting of earth. There were two or three large cupboards of the height of sentry boxes, not open but having a door to them and with locks on them. We asked what they contained ; the

Lascar would not tell us. We demanded that they should be opened, when out came a living Lascar ; a second was opened, when another Lascar came out ; there was no person in the third. We then asked the head Lascar, who attended us, why they had been put there. He said they were put into confinement for quarrelling and bad behaviour."

Nothing was done till 1855, when a meeting was held at the London Tavern, and it was decided to build a home for Asiatic strangers in London.

The first stone of the home was laid in 1856 by the Prince Consort, and it was opened on June 3, 1857.

The directors expressed their intentions as to the manner in which the missionary department of the institution was to be conducted thus :

"The Board are glad to have it in their power to announce that arrangements are in progress to provide able and conscientious interpreters in the Chinese, Hindustani, and other languages of the East, whenever their services may be required at the Courts of Justice, and Police Courts, where the need of able interpreters has been hitherto much felt by the natives of the East brought before them. It is not the intention or wish of the directors to interfere with the prejudices of the natives of the East ; but they feel it their duty as Christians to set the gospel plainly before those who are willing to listen, and to give some portion of the Holy Scriptures to those who can read, and desire to have a copy in their own language, and with this object in view a scripture reader, conversant with their language, habits, and customs, has been engaged.

"The Board feel much indebted to the London City Mission in having placed one of its missionaries at their disposal for the above mentioned purpose ; it is their earnest prayer that the God of all grace will abundantly bless his labours."

This missionary was Joseph Salter, a remarkable man conversant with French and Italian, and gifted with an extraordinary aptitude for learning foreign languages. Very soon after his appointment he was able to read and speak Urdu fluently, and knew a good deal of other languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Swaheli, etc.

In 1873 he published a book entitled "The Asiatic in England." The writer of this article is largely indebted to this work from which many of the following statements are taken.

In the fifties it was not uncommon to find Asiatics dead in the streets. In the winter 1856-7, eight perished of cold and hunger in the streets of London.

These were no idle vagrants, so many of whom prowl through the length of our island, preferring rather to beg than work. These were all sons of honest toil. Each one worked his way to our shores and landed in our midst with a bright eye and a merry heart, because he had Queen Victoria's golden coins hidden in a corner of his gaudy puggree; enough in his own estimation and ours too, should he fall into right hands, to supply all the scanty wants of Oriental life, till he find another ship that would take him back again to his family and friends.

One of these men stepped on shore in his gay apparel, reflecting the colours of the rainbow, firm in his tread, erect in his stature, with evident consciousness of self-sufficiency, for he carried £60 with him, the result of many months' toil on various seas; but he was found a few days afterwards destitute in the streets; the bright beam in his eye had given place to an anxious look, and his gay colours were displaced by dirty rags.

Many others, like him, used to fall with terrible rapidity. There was nothing for them but to beg from the passers by, seeking shelter in the Union by night, or when they fell ill finding a welcome retreat in the hospital, and when in neither of these in a "lodging-house for travellers," or living at the country's expense in some gaol.

Asiatics have an aversion to the Union, for eating and drinking are part of their religion, and they would rather huddle twenty or thirty together in a small house where they can cook and eat and drink and smoke, *à la mode Orientale*, amid the fumes of opium and joggree, each defraying his small portion of the rent. Yes, the statistics of three Unions supplied at that time the average number of fifteen in each, and in the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, the number of Asiatic prisoners varied from twelve to fifteen. Their convictions were only for short terms, they were continually changing, though the average remained the same; some, however, who were repeatedly convicted suffered a much longer term of imprisonment. There was one who had seventy-two con-

victions against him. He lived so much in prison that he came at last to prefer a prison to liberty.

Between the years 1854 and 1856, 1,031 were admitted into the *Dreadnought* hospital ship; there were usually thirty or forty there. Father Gorch visited some of the Lascars when he was in London, and found that although many of them had often heard of Jesus Christ in Calcutta, none of them had heard of Him in London.

They were chiefly to be found down a turning out of High Street, Shadwell, with other small turnings running out of it. There were several houses there devoted to Asiatics, but each proprietor was assisted by an English mistress, some of whom spoke the vernacular well, and have even been known to act as interpreters in the police courts. They were known by such names as Mrs. Mohammed, Mrs. Peroo, Mrs. Janoo, or Chinese Emma, Lascar Sally, and Calcutta Louisa. A stalwart Chinese, aided by Emma, kept a gambling-house. Below the occupants would gamble so earnestly as to take no notice of any one who entered the room. Above was the opium room. The proprietor was a native of Amoy, a friendly easy-going Chinese, but very desperate when roused and out of temper, and Emma in her drunken fits used to try him to the uttermost. It was in this house that two Chinese had a desperate quarrel over the profits ensuing from a dancing girl. They had brought her to England as a speculation, but they quarrelled over their interests and one stabbed the other, and while one was in gaol and the other in hospital the girl was rescued, and she eventually became a missionary in China.

A good lady heard about Emma, and made her a special subject of prayer. She was induced to enter a sisterhood, but found the discipline too much for her, and went back to her old life. "I have to kneel down on cold stones at night," she said, "and that, you know, is not my religion." However the prayers offered on her behalf were not unavailing. Abdur Rahman kept another of these places. He used to sweep a crossing in St. Paul's Churchyard. One day the Nepaulese ambassador passed by. Abdur Rahman saluted. The Nepaulese ambassador, finding he had some knowledge of English, engaged him in his service.

When his Highness left England he started his business in Shadwell. He kept two houses, the first floors being devoted to opium. There was a public-house hard by, the Royal Sovereign, with an old skittle alley. The skittles had vanished and it accommodated twenty Lascars. The tap room was the scene of many a jollification. "What is the matter?" asked Mr. Salter the first time he went there. "Are they quarrelling?" "Nothing of the kind," said the landlord, "it's only a jollification and a spree these Lascars have with the ladies of the neighbourhood when they come on shore. They are all well known here, and poor fellows, they like to have some fun when they do come, and you well know they have nowhere else to go"; and, assuming the tone of a philanthropist, he continued, "We haven't the heart to turn them out, it's all the bit of comfort they know." These sprees, which were of frequent occurrence, often ended in a drunken fit and a few weeks in prison.

The following is an extract from the *Times*, Feb. 10, 1855:

"*Thames Police Court*—John Lyons, who keeps a common lodging-house, which he has neglected to register, appeared before Mr. Ingram in answer to a summons taken out by Inspector Price. J. Kirby, 53 A, Inspector of common lodging-houses, stated that on Saturday night last he visited defendant's house, which was in a most filthy and dilapidated condition. In the first floor he found a Chinaman sleeping in a cupboard or small closet filled with cobwebs. The wretched creature was without a shirt, and was covered with a few rags. The Chinaman was apparently in a dying state, and has since expired. An inquest was held on his remains, and it was proved that he died of fever, and had been most grossly neglected. The room in which the Chinaman lay was without bedding or furniture. In the second room he found Aby Callighan, an Irishwoman, who said she paid 1s. 6d. a week rent. In the third room were Abdullah, a Lascar, who said he paid 3s. per week, and a Chinaman squatting on a chair smoking. In the fourth room were Dong Yoke, a Chinaman, who said he paid 2s. 6d. a week for the privilege of sleeping on the bare boards; two Lascars on bedsteads smoking opium, and the dead body of a Lascar lying on the floor, and covered with an old rug. In the fifth room were an Asiatic seaman, named Pern, who said he paid 3s. per week, and eleven other Lascars, six of whom were sleeping on bedsteads, three on the floor, and two on chairs. If the house were registered

only four persons would be allowed in the room. The effluviunt caused by smoking opium, and by the overcrowded state of the room, was nauseous and intolerable. In the kitchen, which was very damp, he found Sedgoo, who said he had to pay 2s. a week, and eight Chinamen huddled together.

"The stench here was very bad. If the house were registered, no one would have been allowed to inhabit the kitchen at all. He should say that the house was quite unfit for human habitation. The floors of the rooms, the stairs and passages were in a filthy and dilapidated condition, covered with slime, dirt, and all kinds of odious substances. Before the house could be registered, it must be lime-washed and repaired, water laid on, the yard paved, bedding and bed linen provided."

When a Lascar arrived in England, he was visited on the ship by the master of one of these houses, who would try to entice him to his place; or he often made his way there because there was no other resort where he could make himself understood. If he were discharged from his ship he would carry a fair amount of cash with him to his countryman's rendezvous, but it would quickly melt away at the gambling table or *pachasee*, and, if it did not quickly change hands, his pure gold was often secured, and spurious coins shuffled into his possession, for the utterance of which the solicitor of the Mint would confront him at the Old Bailey, and find no difficulty in securing a conviction for crime. If he found his pockets empty when he woke up from the influence of opium, the answers he would get to his inquiries would be: "Nobody has taken it." "You must have made a mistake." "You did not bring any." "No one would rob a poor fellow in a place like this." By the Merchant Shipping Repeal Act a captain is liable to the penalty of £20 for every Lascar he leaves in England. But whose duty was it to enforce the law?

There was at the time we are referring to a fearful influence brought to bear on these poor men on their landing. If they had no money, selfish friends pressed round them to persuade them that they had a right to and a need of it; and whole crews acting under such baneful influences have deserted, refusing to rejoin their ships, and would not return till they had obtained an undue advance of wages to squander in these dens; and in cases of positive refusal

to such unjust demands, have suffered the punishment of deserters in prison. These evil advisers caused such confusion and litigation between captain and men that masters of vessels have consented, reluctantly or otherwise, to pay the men off and discharge them rather than defend themselves against imaginary charges at the police court; and there was no existing authority to see the law observed and prevent such illegal discharges.

Here are some entries in the record of those admitted the first year to the Asiatic Strangers' Home:

"*Latton*—a native of Canton. An old man, very deaf; resides under a railway arch near Gun Lane, Limehouse. His room is used for opium smoking, in which lodgers are accommodated, for which he has been convicted as well as for begging.

"*Ameen uddeen*—native of Bombay. Arrived in England about 1843. Resides in a little attic room, 6 New Peter Street, Westminster; is married, and has two children. Has been engaged on several occasions at Harley House, the Queen of Oude's, but was finally dismissed for imposition. Hawks spurious jewellery. He has frequently greatly imposed on the benevolent.

"*Jan Ali Salum*—lives at 4 St. Ann's Court, Westminster; visits the docks to invite Arabs to his house, where they are often robbed.

"*Shaik Boxhoo*—a native of Calcutta. Sells tracts, and pretends to be deaf and dumb, but understands and can speak both English and Hindustani."

The following are extracts from Mr. Joseph Salter's journal:

"About twelve from a ship in the docks have already entered a house, and are smoking their hookahs. In another house there are thirty, smoking, cooking, eating, gambling, quarrelling and fighting. Among them is Boxhoo, called Lumba, because he is tall. He has joined several ships, and having cashed his advance note has gone in none. He might be prosecuted, but captains and shipowners will not take the trouble. He sometimes collects 5s. a day at Clapton, or other outskirts of London. Another is Shaik Boxhoo. He has beautiful long flowing hair that hangs down nearly to his waist, and carries religious tracts with him. He knows begging to be punishable by law, and therefore pretends to be a book hawker, but he keeps the pence offered him and never gives the book; when his customers ask for the tract they have bought, he points reverently up to heaven, puts his hand on his breast and walks off. Here is H—— too, whom we have often seen on a doorstep in the City, in an apparently dying state, exhibiting



to the numerous passers by a large sore on his leg. Kind Christian folks, which of you would not pity him? We felt inclined to do so too, till one day we saw him put his sore into his pocket, for use on the morrow, and walk away.

"We shall only describe one other character. Jan Amir has just come in with a board under his arm. He is not on duty now, or it would have been hanging around his neck. On it is a printed statement inviting Christian sympathy to give the poor convert to Christianity some help. He came over with his kind master, who died, and became destitute. Having read this board we exclaimed, 'Why, Ameer, we thought you were a sailor, not a servant; you have not had this board long.' He replied that he had only bought the board a few weeks back, for the purpose of getting a living; he didn't even know the meaning of what was on it, and didn't care. He had got a good living by it, and hoped to do so in future."

Our conversation was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the appearance of a policeman, who took into custody a Chinaman, who had stolen a pair of boots; and shortly afterwards a violent rupture occurred under the following circumstances. Two of the twelve Lascars already alluded to had slept in this house, and as one of them had no money his coat was detained in pawn for 4s. He now came in with the money to redeem his coat, which was no longer in the house, and he seemed likely to lose both coat and money. Getting excited by the imposition, he exclaimed violently, and struck the table with his fist; sides were quickly taken, blows followed angry words, and the whole place was in a *mêlée* of violence and fury; hair was torn off from the heads, and the conflict resulted in bleeding noses and black eyes, till the screams of the women brought in the police, and the man who had lost his coat and money was taken in charge, and marched off for an assault.

At this time there was an unprincipled interpreter who attended the Police Court. He had been a soldier in India, and had picked up Hindustani enough to enable him to interpret in ordinary cases; but he was a thoroughly worthless fellow, and had long been a great curse to the poor Lascars.

The Lascar was arraigned in Court for his offence, and the assault being clearly proved, without any of the extenu-

ating circumstances coming to light, the poor fellow stood in jeopardy of getting a month's imprisonment in addition to the loss of his coat and cash ; but the missionary stepped forward and obtained permission to make a statement. He then proceeded to state all the facts of the case, and offered to see the man safe on board his ship. The magistrate thanked the missionary and gave orders that the Lascar should be put into his charge. After this the magistrates seldom decided a Lascar case till the missionary was consulted ; the result of which was that the prisoners were generally given into his hands to be conveyed back to their ships and to be seen off.

But the interpreter's craft was in danger. "You have taken £50 out of my pocket," he said one day. "How have I injured you?" was the inquiry. "Why, I have not had a case sent to trial since the day you appeared in court. I always try to get the case sent for trial if I can. I get double fees at the Old Bailey, but I can't get them sent to Old Bailey while you talk in court as you do." While the interpreter was getting his double fees the Lascars were losing their ships and becoming beggars in the streets. Some time after he said, "Ah! I've had my time, I've done well, and ought to have been better off. I have made £20 a day out of them sometimes. I have got up quarrels amongst the men against their captains. I have advised the men to summon their masters, and lent them money to do it. I was the interpreter, and put the matter just as I liked. I have reminded captains of their responsibility to provide for their men, have offered to relieve them of it, and have often pocketed £20 for undertaking to do so." "But what became of the Lascars?" "That never troubled me, I never heard any more of them."

Shortly after this, by an unexpected decision of the magistrate, the interpreter was dismissed, and engaged himself as a pot-boy in a small public-house, where one Sunday morning he discharged a loaded pistol at his head.

Some of those who had become beggars used to tramp the country in the summer, and sometimes they were hired by circus managers and shown as "raw savages from a

cannibal island." The following is Mr. Salter's account of a Sunday afternoon in Blue Gate Fields :—

"On entering Abdur Rahman's house there are twelve men in the lower room, but we pass them by to gain the first-floor front. Here are thirty from the docks and other parts of London, and the missionary is surprised to find here some of the servants of the Queen of Oude from Harley House ; for it is the Ramazan with the Mohammedans, a fast which they pretend, in the royal suite, strictly to observe, when eating, drinking, and smoking are prohibited in the daytime ; but here they are intoxicated with opium, or smoking and drinking *ad libitum*. An attempt is made to rebuke them on their own ground, and they are told they are violating the prophet's commands in the Koran. But those who are sailors among them excuse themselves with native adroitness, saying that when Mohammed wrote the Koran there were no sailors, and therefore his commandments could not refer to men who did not exist. They satisfy themselves with this reply, and those who are not sailors claim for themselves the same exemption, and the fumes of opium rise to the native tune of a well-dressed fiddler that sat in the corner of the room, anon scraping and singing and breaking down in his attempt. The wretched opium slaves are lying about the room, two of them unconscious, and must be there till the effort of nature succeeds in throwing off the stupefying effects of the fatal pipe ; here are two others fast resigning their consciousness. The smoke oozes out of every avenue of the head, nose, ears, and mouth, like so many branch lines leading off from the reservoir of fume within. 'Sing us a song,' shouts one of the visitors to the Padre. 'Here is something we will read to you.' And we select for perusal and observation the Good Samaritan, which, with many interruptions, we attempt to explain by the Saviour's sufferings and death. The expiation of sin by the Saviour is by some rejected with warmth, and Mohammed's account of Christ's ascension to Heaven given to controvert Christian truth. 'Christ did not die,' some assert. 'He was sent to the wicked Jews by the great Allah, and they intended to crucify Him ; but as He was passing out of the gate of Jerusalem, a man just like Him stepped into His place and was led out and crucified. Everybody thought it was Jesus, but they were all mistaken. Jesus went to Heaven without dying.' The missionary inquired if the Jews were aware that Christ escaped. Who found it out, seeing Mohammed was not born till six centuries afterwards, and therefore could know nothing about it ? But the meeting was brought to a speedy close. The shouts and laughter in the street, and a squib thrown into the room through a broken pane of glass brought all who could stand to their feet with a rush into

the street, and in five minutes the room was cleared, excepting the missionary and the stupefied Indians, still lying unconscious on the dirty floor. One hundred men and women, at the least, were assembled in the narrow thoroughfare, and among them about 60 Asiatics, throwing fireworks at one another."

Mr. Salter visited Abdur Rahman when he was sick and when he was in prison, and each time succeeded in making a great impression upon him; but when he got well or was released from prison he went back to his old evil life.

One morning the missionary received an unexpected visit from Chinese Emma. She had come on behalf of Sequin, a Chinese, who was in custody for stabbing Afong. Sequin had been enticed to Afong's house with £18 in his pocket, but in a short time the £18 had melted away, and his watch and clothes were taken possession of to pay bills for lodging and for articles he had never seen, much less received. It appeared that Afong was determined to make a beggar of him. He had ruined several of his countrymen, robbed them of all they possessed, and lived on the plunder; but the Asiatic Home had now deprived him of lodgers and gain, and hence a supply from one he had caught in his net was necessary. Sequin had, on several occasions, obtained employment at good wages in ships about to leave London, but on each occasion Afong had defeated him. The wretchedness and the exasperation of the helpless Sequin may be imagined; a fight was the result, and the aggressor, Afong, received a wound that proved fatal. Chinese Emma had come to the missionary to solicit help and advice in behalf of the friendless stranger, who was in custody for the offence. "Sir, it's the devil's play," she continued, "and God's curse is on it. I'll wash my hands ere long of the horrid thing, and you shall see it too." Emma no doubt spoke with feeling, and meant what she said. "You don't know what I have seen and suffered there; stabbing, robbery, etc., are common things. I have been pursued with a knife, and if I had not escaped somehow, and it is a mystery how, I should have been killed long ago, and it would have served me right if I had." Mr. Salter saw him, got witnesses, proved inaccuracies in the deposition of Afong taken before his death. A verdict

of "Not Guilty" was returned, but the judge ordered Sequin to be tried for wounding at the following sessions. Sequin was again acquitted, and afterwards brought to the Strangers' Home.

One day, as Mr. Salter entered Abdur Rahman's house, he heard the master of another opium-smoking establishment say, "Why don't you turn that fellow out and kick him into the highway. He is ruining our trade altogether. I kept three houses in this neighbourhood once, and now I can hardly keep one; and if I take care of a man's money and clothes for him, he comes into my house and wants to know what has become of them; as though they belonged to him. What is it to him?" "If you want to kick him out," was the reply, "you had better do it in your own house, and not in mine; he came to see me in prison, he came to my sick-bed when I thought I was dying, and he spoke kindly; and yet I have as much reason to complain as you. I have been eighteen years in the place and never wanted a full house. Besides, you must remember, it is not so much him, as the Home to which he belongs; his reading that Book, and talking to us about his Prophet, which is very good and would do us no harm if it were not for that Home, where they gather everybody in and feed them for nothing. How can we expect to fill our houses while it is so?" This called down imprecations on the Home with Oriental earnestness; with a declaration of profound joy could he only see it burnt to the ground. But what was to be done to remedy the coming ruin? That was the knell the missionary had waited some years to hear. At last Abdur Rahman said "Look here, how are you and I, and Pecro, and Bokhsoo and Latan and several others of us to live? The streets are nearly cleared of cadgers, there are few in the prisons, and none in the workhouses; they are nearly all sent away. I wonder if they would send me away too?" The suggestion met with an unqualified condemnation from the listener, but the more it was opposed so much the more was the policy of such a course defended by the speaker. The chief argument against such a step was the enmity that existed between them and the Home, and the continual endeavours of each to ruin the other; and the doubt whether any such proposal would be attended to.

Abdur Rahman, however, had surmounted these scruples, and announced his decision to put it to the test. Before they parted Abdur's rival in the evil commerce came round to his opinion, and resolved that if the Home would entertain their application, they would resign their evil employment to the remaining competitors.

"Padre," said Abdur Rahman—and a tear was in his eye at the thoughts of coming to it—"do you want any men? Could you find me a berth to India?" and, musing over the wreck of his past success, he added, "It's no use; I'd better go. I used to clear £5 a week for opium alone, and now it's hard work to clear 5s." His thought was warmly commended, and soon the news spread, with Eastern celerity, that Abdur Rahman, after eighteen years of success, had succumbed to circumstances, and intended to redeem the blighted past in another land. Abdur in this locality, like the key-stone of an arch, affected all that was near to him, for the Oriental mind runs in a channel, and is prone to follow an example. So Peroo, who had done great things in the application of his special art of ruin, offered himself for employment in the first ship that could be found to take him; and Janoo, who by his opposition and ill-feeling to the missionary in every possible way, had put himself almost out of communication with him, employed Lascar Sally as an agent on his behalf, to ask the man whom, but a few days before, he wanted to kick out of a house into the highway, if he might find his way to the East. Bokhsoo also made a like application, and found the same encouragement. Soon applications came in for crews. The number of inmates in the Home was not nearly equal to the demand, berths were found for the masters of the opium dens, and all the Asiatic beggars that still remained in Shadwell. Out of the final gleanings of Blue Gate Fields only one deserted—Bokhsoo, and he became a country tramp. It was not long after this that the missionary received a message from Chinese Emma, begging him to call as soon as convenient. He went and was surprised to find the house destitute of the rabble he had so often seen there, and unusually clean. "I am glad you are come," said Emma, "I have been wishing to see you for some time; Appoo and myself are married now,"

she continued, "and here are the lines," showing the certificate. "We mean to begin a new life now. As to these cards, dice, etc., I hate the sight of them—they have ruined hundreds of Chinese, and they have nearly ruined us."

She went as stewardess in a ship, and Appoo was cook. They made several voyages between Liverpool and America, and eventually settled down in New York. Mr. Salter was followed in the work by Mr. Challis, who has done a patient and noble work among the Lascars for about twenty years. He worked chiefly in the Victoria and Albert Docks till the Tilbury Docks were opened. He now devotes most of his time to Tilbury. He is widely known among the Lascars, and thoroughly trusted by all who know him. His chief work is visiting the ships when the men are at leisure. He has also an inquirers' room at Tilbury, where any man can come and inquire further if they have been interested in the instruction given on the ships. After many years of work he finds that the instruction given on the ships must be of the simplest possible character. He makes the Psalms of David his basis of instruction ; not only is this book acknowledged as inspired by Mohammedans, but the language and style appeal to the Oriental mind.

When the present vicar was appointed to St. Luke's, Victoria Docks, he was much concerned about the treatment the Lascars receive in the Victoria Dock Road. Boys throw stones at them, and steal their caps ; factory girls tease them, and on foggy nights sometimes the men rob them. He conceived the idea of opening a club room for them, where they could find amusement and shelter, and feel that some people in Christian England cared for them.

The following account appeared in the Report of the St. Andrew's Waterside Mission Report for 1904 :

"On my appointment to St. Luke's in 1882, I was much struck with the number of Lascars I used to see about the parish and in the docks. We noticed, too, they were often badly treated by the rougher class of the people, and we longed to speak to them and to do something for their welfare. The matter was thought about and talked over, and received the approval of many friends.

The Bishop's Fund, the Additional Curates Society and the St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission expressed their readiness to help with the stipend of a missionary if a suitable man could be found. Happily at that time there was on the staff of the S.P.G. the Rev. E. B. Bhose, a native of India, who had done a valuable work among the coolies in Demerara. It was finally settled that he should become one of the curates of St. Luke's and that the Lascars should be placed under his immediate charge. From the very first Mr. Bhose threw his whole heart into the movement, and since that time the work has steadily gone forward. It was his practice to visit the men on their ships almost every day. We rented also suitable premises, which were fitted up as club, recreation and mission rooms, and these were always open for the use and comfort of the Lascars. There Mr. Bhose was to be found night after night chatting with the men, superintending their games, and giving them all sorts of information and instruction.

"On the Sundays the club was arranged for a sort of Sunday school. The Lascars greatly valued these meetings, and, as a rule, listened to what was said with quietness and earnestness, though sometimes there were signs of agitation and disapproval.

"Mr. Bhose also made a regular practice of visiting the sick in the hospital, where there were generally some Lascars, accidents being not infrequent in the docks.

"That a good work has been done none who know the Mission can doubt. It has been a real influence for good both among our own people and the Lascars themselves. We have not made, it is true, many converts. The stay of the Lascars has not been long enough for that, but it has been long enough to show them acts of sympathy and kindness, and to send them back to India with a better opinion of England and of England's people than they would otherwise have had.

The following, by Mr. Bhose himself, appeared in St. Andrew's Waterside Mission Report for 1901 :

"During the year under review an unusually large number of Indian seamen passed through the Victoria and Albert Docks, of whom a goodly number went away on board the hired Government transports bound for South Africa. There were many new men among them, but the great majority were old hands, who knew me, and were more or less acquainted with the work that I have been carrying on for the last sixteen or seventeen years for their benefit. They all received from me a hearty welcome, and many, in response to the invitation I gave them, attended the meetings which are held at the Lascar Mission in the Victoria Dock Road. On Sundays the attendance has been very satisfactory, but on



week nights it has fluctuated very much, according as the weather has been warm or cold. The men as a rule are very poorly provided with warm clothing, and in severe weather they feel it too cold to come out of the docks in the evening, after their day's work is over. Those of them who can afford it purchase second-hand garments from the Jews, but these are often so thin and worn out that they afford little warmth. Some of the companies, if not all, supply their men with warm suits at a moderate price, and also allow them double rations during the winter, so as to enable them to resist the effects of cold.

"I cannot imagine a finer field than these docks for missionary work, where within a small area are congregated almost daily some 1,200 to 1,500 Mohammedans, who though fanatically attached to their religious system, are easily accessible, and willing enough to hear the glad tidings of salvation; and the longer I work amongst them the more hopeful is the view I take of the future. Our past has been marked with a moderate degree of success, and I would fain hope that greater things may be in store for us in the coming years. The Moslem sailors for the most part are very ignorant and very superstitious when they first arrive here, but I have noticed that in course of years, as they come in closer touch with us, their prejudices against Christianity become weaker, and many of them not only attend our meetings but ask for books which they might take with them to read on board ship. There are, however, some who, without exhibiting any unfriendly feelings, are suspicious of me, misjudge my motive and action, and cannot be persuaded on any account to come to the Mission. They fear that closer contact with me may perhaps unsettle their mind and religious belief, and so they deem it prudent to keep away. Besides seeing the men on board ship in the docks, from whom I have invariably received a most hearty reception on every occasion, and holding meetings at the Mission, I have visited the sick Lascars in the Seamen's Hospital, and I trust that some good has been done by these visits. It is a pleasure, too, to go there, because the poor fellows feel so lonely, and seem to brighten up when they see me. They speak in grateful terms of the kindness and attention shown to them both by the doctors and the nurses. In these different ways we are casting 'the bread on the waters,' and I humbly trust and pray that we shall find it after many days.' My whole time and energy are devoted to this great work—the work, namely, of spreading a knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among these sojourners from England's greatest dependency; and although I am painfully conscious of how inadequately it is performed, I rejoice to know that thousands of them have through this Mission heard the good news.

"Nearly all the Lascars are British subjects, and it is interesting to know that they are practically unanimous in expressing their contentment with English rule in India. The only complaint I have heard them make is that the taxes press very heavily on the poor, even to the point of semi-starvation. They are, however, steadfast in their loyalty to the British crown, and in this connection I will mention a touching incident that came under my notice. I was engaged one Sunday afternoon at the Mission, when four or five Lascars came in and took their seats. Noticing that they looked somewhat tired, I asked them where they had been, and they told me they had been to Windsor to see the grave of the late Queen, towards whom the natives of India of all races entertained, whilst living, the deepest sentiments of loyalty and devotion. These men had left their ship on the previous Saturday and travelled to Windsor at their own cost. They arrived too late, however to see the grave on that day, and, being at a loss to know what to do, fortunately came across a gentleman who, on learning what the object of their visit was, had them lodged and fed at his expense for the night, and on the Sunday morning they were permitted to go and see the grave of her late Majesty."

Mr. Bhose died on March 9, 1905. The mission remained closed till the following September, when the present writer took up the work. He has tried to follow much the same lines as Mr. Bhose and Mr. Challis, from the latter of whom he has received much advice and assistance. There is a mission in Glasgow under the charge of Mr. Aziz Ahmed, an Indian Christian. He founded the mission there on November 2, 1897. He receives no help from any society, but raises his funds in Glasgow. He writes :

"Our work aims at making Lascars better men. We do not interfere with Islam or Roman Catholicism. As a layman I try to give the best advice to Indian seafaring men, for the good of their souls, minds, and bodies. We teach them Christian love to all mankind, saluting Muslims with 'Salam alaikum,' and Catholics with 'Pax vobiscum.'"

Mr. Aziz Ahmed distributes a great number of Bibles and tracts. His work is largely educational.

Another native of India, Mr. Seal, a son of a priest of the Church of England, founded a mission to Lascars at Birkenhead. Mr. Seal has also visited the Glasgow mission as a Lascar. We have met many Lascars who

greatly appreciated the work that is being done by Mr. Aziz Ahmed and Mr. Seal.

This work is not one in which much can be looked for in the way of conversions ; but much can be done to dispel ignorance, remove misconceptions, and spread abroad the truth. The number of these men to be found in the docks is very large. In the year 1901, 37,000 different Lascars visited the English ports. It is a great thing that they should learn that all Christian people are not like the majority of those who live around the docks, and that they should know that some English people care for their welfare, and for the love of Christ subscribe money to the Mission. They generally receive the missionary well ; sometimes they will of their own accord ask him to read to them ; sometimes they will bring out a copy of the Gospels given them in Port Said and ask him to read it to them. They appreciate being visited in hospital when they are sick, and show much gratitude for any little kindnesses that are rendered them, as writing letters, making out money orders, etc. Their stay in England, however, is very short ; and the missionary often looks forward to the return of a boat in which he thinks many have been impressed with religious truth, only to find it manned by an entirely new crew. They are nearly all Mohammedans, occasionally we meet with a Hindu or native Christian, and sometimes with a Buddhist from Colombo.

T. R. UNDERWOOD.

## EDITORIAL.

*Introductions  
to  
our readers.*

*Bishop Graves*, who writes on "Chinese Christianity and the Chinese National Character," has been Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in Shanghai for the last thirteen years. His staff includes thirteen native Chinese clergy. In 1904 his missionary jurisdiction was divided and another Bishop of the American Church was stationed at Hankow.

*Archdeacon Moule*, who writes on "Church and State in China," has been a missionary in China and in connection with the C.M.S. for more than forty years. However great may be the difficulties in the way of carrying out his suggestion for the union or reunion of all professing Christians in China, the suggestion is one which cannot be lightly put aside or ignored.

*Dr. W. E. Griffis* was one of the earliest pioneer American educationalists in Japan and has written many books relating to work in that country.

The *Rev. H. Pakenham-Walsh* was for some time the head of the Dublin University Mission in Chhota Nagpur, India, and has for the last two years been the principal of the Trichinopoly College, which with its branch schools contains more than sixteen hundred pupils.

The *Rev. J. A. Sharrock*, who writes on "Paganism, Hinduism and Christianity in India," has been for nearly twenty-seven years a missionary in India in connection with the S.P.G. The information which he gives in order to show to what a large extent Hinduism assimilated the Paganism which it found in Southern India will be new to many of our readers. His somewhat disheartening picture of the general character of Indian Christianity in South India is deserving of careful attention.

The article by the *Rev. Godfrey Callaway* affords welcome proof of the very real progress which has been made as the result of Christian Missions in Kaffraria, in South Africa, during the past forty years.

The *Rev. C. T. Wilson*, formerly a C.M.S. missionary in Palestine and one of the first party of missionaries to reach Uganda, writes on "The Present Conditions and Prospects of Missions to Moslems in Palestine."

*Miss Susan Ballard*, who has worked for some years in Tokyo, writes on "The Use of Sacred Pictures in Missionary Work," and the *Rev. T. R. Underwood* gives a large amount of interesting information in regard to the Lascars who are to be found in the East London docks. Mr. Underwood was an S.P.G. missionary at Cawnpore for nearly seven years, and is able to speak to the Lascars in a language which they can understand.

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*The Junior Clergy  
Missionary  
Associations.*

WE cordially endorse the plea which Mr. Edgar Rogers, the Vicar of St. Sepulchre's Church, Holborn, urges for a reconsideration and a development of the work of the Junior Clergy Missionary Associations, which have done so much in the past to increase the interest of the members of the Anglican Church in Foreign Missions. It is nearly two years since the S.P.G. Standing Committee made a special appeal to the five thousand five hundred members of the J.C.M.A. to provide six missionaries for Japan, where not six but at least sixty new missionaries were urgently needed. Hardly any response was made to this appeal. We cannot but agree with Mr. Rogers that, if the members of the J.C.M.A. are to refrain from going abroad as missionaries and to confine their energies to the work of inciting others to go, the work which they can usefully attempt at home is well nigh accomplished. What is wanted is to limit the membership to those clergy who are really in earnest about foreign missionary work, even if to do this be to reduce the roll of members to a tenth of its present size,

*Japanese Christians in India.*

Two well-educated Japanese Christians have recently made a tour through northern India for the purpose of giving lectures on various subjects connected with the religions and the historical development of their country. The lectures have been very largely attended by Hindus, and have been listened to with the greatest attention. We notice that the Japanese representatives recommend Indians who desire higher education outside their own country to go to England rather than to Japan. At one of these lectures the speaker interrupted the prolonged applause that followed his reference to the saying, which has recently become so common in India, "What Japan has done, India can do," by asking, "Will you do it? Japan has abolished caste. Will you do it? Japan has given dignity and education to women. Will you do it? Japan has open-mindedly received truth from every quarter. Can you do it?"

It is because so small a proportion of the Hindu peoples are as yet prepared to give an affirmative answer to any of these questions that we fear that the day is still far distant when India will make progress at all commensurate with that which has been made in recent years by Japan. We trust that the words of the Japanese lecturers may obtain the widest circulation amongst the educated classes in India, many of whom are quite oblivious to the real obstacles which stand in the way of their own progress.

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*Lost Heathen?*

WE have received from a newly-formed American Association, which is proposing to send missionaries to China, a printed letter beginning with these words, "More than 30,000 Chinese die every day lost heathen." The attitude of those who are prepared to endorse this letter, helps to explain, if not to justify the difficulty which many intelligent Christian people feel when asked to support missionary work. If, as the Missionary Association which sends out this letter believes, we are in a position to assert that every Chinaman who

has not heard of the Christian faith is "lost," the difficulty of believing the fundamental axiom of that faith that "God is love" tends to become for an increasing number of thoughtful persons insuperable. A century, or even half a century ago, one of the most effective arguments which were used to induce people to support Missions to the heathen was the statement that every time the clock ticked so many scores of heathen were consigned to hell-fire, but we would fain have believed that no missionary society, however small, was still willing to put forward such an argument. The motive for the prosecution of foreign missionary work which is now generally accepted, is based upon a recognition of the love of God and of our obligation to spread the knowledge of that love and thus to share with others the "inestimable benefits" we have ourselves received. It is not what we may save the heathen *from*, but what we may save them *to* which occupies our thoughts to-day.

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*The Republic of  
Liberia*

THE chief interest attaching to the two volumes recently issued by Sir Harry Johnston, on the Republic of Liberia in West Africa, arises from the fact that in the author's opinion the history of the republic cannot yet be pronounced a complete failure. He is one of the very few Europeans who have investigated the affairs of the republic who have taken other than the most pessimistic view of its prospects. The prevalence of this view is the more discouraging as the establishment of this settlement represents a unique experiment in the history of civilisation. It was the result of a movement among some Americans, who had founded the American Colonization Society, with the object of finding an outlet for the free native population in the Southern States, which even in 1822 was a source of anxiety and embarrassment. After a history of twenty-five years it declared itself an independent republic. It has to-day a population of 50,000, less than a quarter of whom, however, are descended directly from the American negroes, the rest being American-negro

and West African descent. Sir Harry Johnston is satisfied that, regarded as a new home for American negroes, the scheme is a complete failure. He says, "They have become too widely separated in physical constitution, in political and commercial ideals, to resume with ease the African citizenship of their forefathers." The object for which the colony was started having proved impossible of realisation, it is at least satisfactory to learn that the comparatively few inhabitants of Liberia are making some progress, or at any rate are not actually retrograding. In view of the native question which is beginning to confront us in almost every part of South Africa, we should have been glad indeed if the past history of the colony of Liberia could provide any helpful suggestions, but we fear that the suggestions which can be obtained from its story are entirely of a negative character.



## LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

*To the Editor of THE EAST AND THE WEST.*

DO THE HINDUS BELIEVE IN  
A PERSONAL GOD?

SIR,—Will you permit me to offer a protest against the words used by Mr. Slater on p. 264 of the last number of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*. The protest is not directed against Mr. Slater, but against a very general opinion which he voices and which I am convinced is wrong. No true friend of Missionaries who knows the real facts can dare to be silent. Talking of the Hindu religion Mr. Slater says :—

“But if we look deeper we shall find that this desire for non-existence is really the outcome of despair ; and we see the striking contrast between the Christian belief in God as a Person, and the consequently vivid sense which the believer in Christ possesses of a personal and continuous life beyond the grave, both for himself and for those who have ‘gone before,’ and the Hindu belief that there is no personal life at the basis of things—no self-consciousness in the Supreme Spirit—and therefore no ground for the permanence of self-consciousness in finite persons, and no hope of reunion with friends who have passed away. *Personality* is at the root of all the most vital differences between Hinduism and Christianity. Being ignorant also of the *Christian view of life and suffering*, in which both are regarded as educational steps to a higher, brighter, fuller life beyond, the Indian problem was how to shake off all personality, and escape from the misery of the world, with its repeated births, as soon as possible. The solution was *Mukti*—liberation—and absorption into the Supreme ; for only when the individual soul was *lost in the Universal Soul* could self-consciousness perish.”

Mr. Slater will, I am sure, forgive me if I say that this is not a true account of Hinduism, any more than an account of the teaching of Comte would be a correct description of the doctrines associated with, say, Keswick. What Mr. Slater has described is the philosophical pantheism of the Vedānta met with in the Universities of

big Indian towns and among a limited number of educated men. But the beliefs of the two hundred millions of uneducated Hindus are radically different, being founded on the principle of *Bhakti*.

The current ideas of Hinduism are based on the writings of European Sanskrit scholars. These writings are admirable descriptions of the religion of India fifteen hundred years ago, but their readers forget that India has progressed since then. The religious progress is recorded, not in Sanskrit, but in the modern languages—in tongues “understood of the people” and not understood by Sanskrit scholars. Until these vernacular works are studied and popularised, people will find it difficult to believe that the real Hinduism of the two hundred millions, does teach the existence of God as a Person, and that the real Hindu of the present day has himself just as vivid a sense of a personal and continuous life beyond the grave as any Christian. To a modern Hindu *Mukti* is *not* absorption into the Supreme, but is to be “for ever with the Lord.” There are the beginnings of this belief in Sanskrit times—see, for instance, Dr. Thibaut’s account of the teaching of Rāmānuja in the preface to his translation of Sankara’s *Vedānta Sūtras*—but it reached its highest development in the works of Kabīr and Tulasī Dāsa, less than five centuries ago.

May I urge that as long as missionaries believe that Vedantism is their great obstacle, they have found a lion in their way, which is but a phantasm begotten of imagination out of want of knowledge?

Let me explain that I am not disparaging anyone for this ignorance. Missionaries have little time for independent study, and they must take their information as it is given them. It is not their fault if that information ignores the progress of Indian thought during the past few centuries, and the influence which the West has exercised upon the East from the dawn of Christianity.

Yours faithfully,  
GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

## REVIEWS.

*Uganda to Khartoum : Life and Adventure on the Upper Nile.* By Albert Lloyd, with a preface by Victor Buxton. 312 pp. Published by Fisher Unwin. Price 10s. 6d.

- MR. LLOYD is a missionary attached to the C.M.S., and this book is an account of his journey from Uganda to Khartoum. Part of the country through which he passed is still almost unknown, and we wish that he could have stayed long enough to enable him to tell us more about the customs and traditions of these peoples, who have recently come under the protectorate of Great Britain. The book consists to a large extent of the author's experiences in the character of a sportsman, and where he passes through districts in which missionary work has been begun, he does not stop to give us any detailed information of what is being done. It would appear that many of the districts through which he passed possess a very healthy climate, and that there would be unlimited scope for medical and industrial Mission work. The inhabitants, as far as the author was able to ascertain, have no clearly developed form of religion. The book contains some excellent illustrations.

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*China and the Gospel : an Illustrated Report of the China Inland Mission, 1906.* Published by the China Inland Mission.

THIS report is issued in a most attractive style, and contains a number of excellent photographs to illustrate its contents. The number of missionaries and associates working in China is now 849, 44 new workers having joined during the past year. The Mission apparently obtains recruits from other than English-speaking people, as five of the new workers come from Germany, and seven from Sweden. The income of the Society during the past year was 62,000*l.*, an increase of 5,000*l.* on that of the previous year.

*There is a River: a popular illustrated Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the year 1905-6.* Published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

DURING the past year the Bible Society has issued portions of the Bible in eleven new languages. These are Singpho (East Assam), Mech (North Assam), Zigula (German East Africa), Laotian (Annam), Kuliviu (New Hebrides), Ladakhi (Western Thibet), Bemba (Lake Bangweolo), Saa (Solomon Islands), East Santo (New Hebrides), Bribri (Isthmus of Panama), and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. The last represents an attempt to give the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt part of the Bible in a form in which it can be understood by uneducated persons. The great difficulty in regard to the circulation of the Bible in Arabic has always been that if the Bible is provided in correct literary form it can only be understood by the smallest fraction of the people for whom it is intended, whereas if it is provided in the colloquial it will hardly ever be read by those who are sufficiently well educated to read at all, and who have learnt to despise anything which is not written in Arabic corresponding to that of the Koran. This fact accounts for the great delay which has occurred in the issue of Arabic colloquial versions. It will be interesting to see how far this version accomplishes the object for which it has been issued. The report contains the following references to the recent efforts of the Roman Church to circulate the Bible on a large scale:

"We rejoice once more to note an increasing readiness on the part of the Roman authorities to popularise the Bible. The admirable new French version of the Bible by l'Abbé Crampon, translated from the original texts—not from the Vulgate—and revised by Jesuit Fathers, and professors of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, has won such recognition and success that the first edition of 25,000 copies was disposed of before the end of 1905, and the book has just been reprinted.

"For the last two or three years our reports have recorded the splendid achievements in Italy of the beneficent Society of St. Jerome. More than 400,000 copies have now been printed and circulated of the volume containing the four Gospels and the Acts, newly translated into Italian and issued from the Vatican Press, which the St. Jerome Society sells at 20 centesimi (= 2d.) a copy. At certain churches in Rome, like the Church of San Marcello al Corso, this version is read and expounded every Sunday. One of the leaders of the St. Jerome Society, Padre Genocchi, has stated that they expect to issue the Epistles in this same version not later than October, 1906.

"It is cheering indeed when at Florence, for instance, La Stella

Cattolica, the weekly religious journal of the diocese, has a leading article entitled 'The Reading of the Gospel,' which begins thus; 'There is among Catholics a vigorous revival of the dissemination and the reading of the Gospel;' and when, in the famous Church at Sta. Maria Novella, the Lenten preacher this year, at the end of each sermon, has recommended his hearers to buy and read the Gospels published by the St. Jerome Society.

"The Roman Church in Brazil is beginning to follow along the same track. At Bahia the Franciscan monks have recently published a new Portuguese version of the Four Gospels and the Acts, each part of which is sold separately at prices varying from 5*d.* to 7*d.* apiece. Only last year another Portuguese translation of the Four Gospels, made from the Vulgate, appeared at Rio, in one handsome volume, with notes and illustrations, which costs, however, as much as 4*s.* This book has special significance because it contains an introduction by the Archbishop of Rio, who has just been created Cardinal, and is the only South American prelate now in the Sacred College. His introduction ends with the following sentences: 'All Catholic families should have in their homes the Book of the Holy Gospels. They should read it in common and meditate upon it. Let all pious souls take to their charge this holy and regenerating mission of propagating among all classes of society the reading of the Holy Gospels.'

"To this the Bible Society can most fervently respond: 'We desire nothing better, we work for nothing less.'"

Referring to the demand for the Bible in China, the report says: "We rejoice that this first year of the Renaissance has called the British and Foreign Bible Society to print and issue over one million three hundred thousand volumes of the Scriptures in China." The report is well illustrated and contains a number of telling stories relating to the distribution of copies of the Bible by the Society's colporteurs.

*Christian Missions and Social Progress: a Sociological Study of Foreign Missions.* By the Rev. J. S. Dennis, D.D. 675 pp. Published by Oliphant. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

THIS volume forms the third and last of the work on which the author tells us he has been engaged for the last twelve years. The present volume contains an immense amount of information illustrating the contributions which foreign missionaries have made towards the improvement of education, the development of industries and the general amelioration of life amongst the various races for whom they have worked. There is a great lack of method and

arrangement which is only partially made up for by a good index. Though the book is written from an American standpoint and abounds in grandiloquent expressions and unnecessary superlatives the English student will find much useful information in its pages which he cannot easily obtain elsewhere in an equally convenient form.

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*Contrasts in the Campaign.* By various writers. 204 pp. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s. 6d.

A COLLECTION of short articles describing scenes connected with missionary work in British Columbia, Sierra Leone, India, China, and Uganda suitable for reading aloud at a working party. Several of the articles are very well written.

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*Notes on Africa for Missionary Students.* In paper cover. 85 pp. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

THESE notes, which are in part reprints of C.M.S. magazine articles, would be useful to anyone beginning the study of African Missions. The references to Missions in South Africa are very brief.

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*S. Peter and S. John, First Missionaries of the Gospel.* By Mrs. A. Carus Wilson. In paper cover. 98 pp. Published by Hodder & Stoughton. Price 1s.

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THE article in the *Contemporary Review* for July by Sir Alfred Pearce, late Administrator of Native Affairs in the Transvaal, is distinctly worth reading. The following statement, if true, is one of serious import, as it suggests that the greater part of South Africa can never be colonised by English emigrants in the same sense that Canada and Australia are being colonised :

"The fact, however, which I want to impress upon the reader is this, that the presence of a preponderating native population, inferior and gradually subjected to a white minority, capable of labour, and present in ample numbers to supply it, has made a caste of labour. For a white to lower himself by labour to the native caste is to become an outcast from the society of his fellows. This fact alone appears to shut out the possibility of the South African colonies becoming fields for emigration in the sense that America and Australasia are. The labourer class which forms the main body of the population in every advanced community is already present and always increasing. The Transvaal, then, is

not and cannot be under existing conditions the home of the ordinary working man. It is only in the thinner ranks of the aristocracy of skilled labour that there is room for the white."

The article goes on to give some picturesque details of the native life in the kraals and to discuss the effect of missionary work upon the natives. The writer is by no means prejudiced against the results of missionary work and says that he has himself had native servants "who were striking examples of what good missions and missionaries can achieve, natives who were not only good Christians, but in every way better men than they could have been without the Mission training." As he is prepared to sympathise with some of the missionary work now being carried on, his criticism of the work of many of the societies now working in South Africa is deserving of careful attention. We cordially endorse his protest against the general adoption by the natives of European clothes, though we doubt whether the missionaries are as much to blame as he says for what has happened. He writes :

"In my opinion one of the greatest misfortunes that has befallen the South African native since the advent of the white man is the fact that he has been not only allowed, but encouraged, and by missionaries obliged, to discard native dress for European clothes . . . . When I first landed at Capetown . . . I saw a teeming native population in the most terrible copy of the worst type of our unlovely garments, the men in old bowler or felt hats, filthy shirts and trousers, the women decked out in just the costumes that would be used to make an audience scream at a minstrel entertainment. Here at least was one reason, to me a sufficient one by itself, to account for the general contempt for the 'civilised kaffir.' It is most pitiful. The man who can secure the adoption by the natives of a becoming and effective dress will do more than all the missionary societies have yet done to raise them in their own and the white man's respect."

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